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HISTORY OF OUR TIME
1885-1914

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History of Our Time

1885-1914

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CHAPTER I

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

MODERN England, politically speaking, begins with the Reform Bill of 1832, which transferred power from the landed interest to the middle class. After the long winter of stagnation caused by fear of revolution on the French model there was a breath of spring in the air. Within the next few years slavery was abolished throughout the Empire, municipal government reformed, the Poor Law modernized, and the problem of public health tackled for the first time. Railways and steamships were built, and as a result of the Irish Famine and the Free Trade campaign the Corn Laws were swept away. Members of the aristocracy, such as Grey, Melbourne, and Aberdeen, Russell, Derby, and Palmerston, Salisbury and Rosebery, continued to play an active part; but representatives of the business and professional world, such as Cobden and Bright, Peel, Gladstone and Disraeli, obtained an ever increasing share of power which was not seriously challenged when the Reform Bill of 1867 enfranchised the urban worker. Though Queen Victoria held tenaciously to her prerogatives the direct influence of the Crown gradually diminished, while that of the House of Commons, more representative than ever before, steadily increased, and the importance of the Press waxed as illiteracy waned. Factory legislation, the co-operative movement, Trade Unions, and compulsory education attempted to meet the needs of a rapidly expanding urban population. The national wealth increased by leaps and bounds, and for half a century England with her bountiful supplies of coal became the industrial leader of the world. That the

tide of revolution which swept over western and central Europe of 1848 halted at the cliffs of Dover strengthened the national self-confidence symbolized in the Great Exhibition of 1851. The transient anxieties of the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny left our buoyancy unimpaired. Peace and self-government, free trade and low taxation were the watchwords of the age.

Though foreigners looked with admiration or envy at the richest and most stable of European communities, there were shadows on the sun. Dependence on foreign corn and meat led to a lamentable neglect of our oldest industry, and the unequal distribution of wealth left the country divided, in Disraeli's phrase, into two nations. The rigid control of economic processes during the Mercantilist era was followed by an equally excessive devotion to the doctrines of *laissez-faire*. The suffering involved in the factory system was stressed by Carlyle and Ruskin, Dickens and Kingsley, who strove to create a social conscience, while Marx and Engels, who made England their home, preached the new socialist alternative. The effect of such protests and arguments was small, for the upper and middle classes as a whole saw no need to scrap the system and the manual workers were without parliamentary influence. The conception of a minimum standard of life for the common man had to wait for the twentieth century. The chief weakness of the greatest era in English history since the Elizabethan age was its complacency.

In 1885, when this survey opens, Gladstone's Liberal Ministry, which had ruled England since 1880, was defeated on the Budget. Its career had been stormy and disappointing. There had been an inglorious war in South Africa and incessant conflict in Ireland. The revolt of Arabi had been suppressed and the British occupation of Egypt begun; but Khartoum had fallen

to the fanatical Dervishes of the Sudan and the heroic Gordon had perished in the final assault. Moreover, the Ministry had been weakened by resignations and torn by internal dissension. Lansdowne and Argyll had withdrawn on the attempt to settle the Irish land question, Forster on the release of Parnell from gaol, Bright on the bombardment of Alexandria. An unceasing struggle had raged in the Cabinet between the Whigs and the Radicals, culminating in the 'Unauthorized Programme' of Joseph Chamberlain. The Prime Minister failed to keep order in his own house, and the hostility of Queen Victoria, both personal and political, steadily increased.

On Gladstone's resignation, Salisbury, who had succeeded Disraeli as leader of the Conservatives, formed his first Ministry, but before the Dissolution took place in November 1885 an important change in the political situation had occurred. The Crimes Act was dropped, and Carnarvon, the new Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, secretly informed Parnell, the formidable leader of the Irish Nationalists, of his inclination towards Home Rule. For these reasons the Irish vote was cast for Conservative candidates throughout Great Britain. The result of the election was that Conservatives and Nationalists combined exactly equalled the Liberals. Gladstone's election address had demanded an equitable settlement with Ireland and asked for a majority independent of Irish votes. On failing to obtain it, he offered to co-operate with Salisbury in an attempt to solve the problem on the lines of autonomy. The Conservative leader refused, and Herbert Gladstone confided to a newspaper that his father was prepared for some form of Home Rule. Meanwhile, Carnarvon had resigned, and on the meeting of Parliament the Queen's Speech foreshadowed the renewal of coercion. Liberals

and Nationalists combined to overthrow the Conservative Government on the Address, and Gladstone became Prime Minister for the third time at the close of the year.

The advocacy of Home Rule by the veteran Liberal leader opened a new chapter in the history of the British Empire. Influential Liberals like John Morley, Bryce, and Dilke had already avowed themselves Home Rulers, and Gladstone's conversion caused no surprise to his intimate friends. He had lost what little faith in coercion he ever possessed, and before his resignation he had contemplated an elective Central Council on lines suggested by Chamberlain. In this state of mind he was profoundly impressed by the return of 86 Irish Home Rulers at the first election held on a democratic franchise. The vision of a reconciled Ireland, bound to England, not by the Act of Union, but by a 'union of hearts', took possession of him, and to its realization he devoted the evening of his strenuous life.

That Gladstone would carry all his followers with him was too much to expect, and the approaching split was foreshadowed when the composition of the Ministry was announced. Hartington, Bright, Selborne, Derby, Northbrook and other old colleagues were missing, while Chamberlain and Trevelyan, in accepting office, only pledged themselves to inquiry. The Home Rule Bill was framed by the Prime Minister with the assistance of Morley, the new Chief Secretary, and Spencer, whose long experience as Lord-Lieutenant was of the greatest service. It proposed the creation of two Houses, with power over all Irish questions, and it was announced that a great measure of land purchase would follow. The Bill was received with a storm of criticism, and Gladstone was accused of desiring the disruption of the Empire. The hottest fire was concentrated on the anticipated

oppression of Protestant Ulster by the Catholic majority and on the exclusion of the Irish members from Westminster. Chamberlain and Trevelyan resigned before the Bill was defeated on second reading by a majority of 30 with the aid of 93 dissentient Liberals, henceforth described as Liberal Unionists. Parliament was dissolved, the Gladstonian Liberals were defeated, and the Coalition returned with a majority of 118.

The championship of Home Rule reduced the Liberal Party to impotence for twenty years. The change was too great to be accepted offhand even at the bidding of the Grand Old Man. Ulster would fight, declared Randolph Churchill, and Ulster would be right. Irish members, with Parnell at their head, were widely regarded as enemies of the British Empire, and British Home Rulers were thought to be little better. Not since the struggle for the abolition of the Corn Laws had passions run so high. The dissentient Liberals threw in their lot with the Conservatives, and built up a powerful Unionist Coalition. The Whigs had been drifting away from their chief for some years, and the adoption of a Home Rule policy completed their conversion. The creation of the Unionist Party in 1886 may be said to mark the birth of the Imperialism which dominated British politics for twenty years. The foundation of the Imperial Federation League in 1884, under the auspices of Forster and Rosebery, showed that the colonial problem was occupying the thoughts of prominent Liberals, but the Unionists now came forward, not only as the guardians of the Union, but as the special champions of territorial expansion and national defence. The gulf between the two historic parties deepened, and the Liberals, relieved of the incubus of their Whig supporters, became more frankly democratic. Chamberlain had gone, but there were plenty of Radicals left.

On the fall of the short-lived Gladstone Ministry in April 1886, Salisbury offered to serve under Hartington. The proposal was declined, though the Whig leader promised independent support. A purely Conservative Government was therefore formed, with Randolph Churchill, the pugnacious champion of Tory Democracy, as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House. At the end of the year he refused to accept the larger estimates for the Army and Navy on which the Cabinet was bent, and to his surprise his resignation was accepted. W. H. Smith, the respected head of the bookstall business, became Leader of the House, and Goschen, an ex-Liberal banker, Chancellor of the Exchequer. At the same time an effort was made to reunite the Liberal Party at a Round Table Conference between Chamberlain and Trevelyan on one side, and Harcourt, Herschell, and Morley on the other. The attempt failed, though Trevelyan shortly rejoined his friends.

The most difficult as well as the most urgent problem confronting the Ministry was that of Ireland. Salisbury had declared that the Emerald Isle needed twenty years of resolute government. The medicine was unflinchingly administered by his nephew, Arthur Balfour, the Chief Secretary, who carried a drastic Crimes Bill in 1887. William O'Brien and other Irish political offenders were treated like common criminals, and bloodshed at Michelstown excited passionate controversy throughout Great Britain. Yet the situation, measured by police statistics, slowly improved, land purchase was hurried on, and in 1891 the Congested Districts Board was created to assist the poverty-stricken west. The Unionist policy was to combine administrative coercion with an economic programme, sometimes described as killing Home Rule by kindness.

The main legislative achievements of the Salisbury Government were the creation of elective county and district councils in 1888, and the abolition of fees in elementary schools in 1891. Nowhere was the advantage of the former measure more quickly felt than in London, where the county council attracted a group of able men determined to raise the standard of life in the slums. In 1890 an important Housing Act was passed, and in 1891 facilities were provided for obtaining allotments. Finance was skilfully handled by Goschen, who reduced the interest on the greater portion of the National Debt from 3 to $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Abroad the sky was comparatively unclouded, and Salisbury confirmed his reputation as a skilful and peace-loving diplomatist. The celebration of the Queen's Jubilee in 1887 emphasized the moral unity of the Empire. The Government deemed it necessary to strengthen the national defences, for in an age of conscript armies England continued to rely on a force only fitted for local conflicts on the Indian frontier or in the Dark Continent. The two-Power standard at sea was formulated, and in 1889 a large increase in the Navy was begun. Both parties were resolved that Britannia should continue to rule the waves.

During the Parliament of 1886 strokes both of good and evil fortune befell the Unionist Party. In April 1887 *The Times* published a facsimile letter of Parnell, expressing a partial approval of the Phoenix Park political murders committed in 1882. The Irish leader instantly denied its authenticity. After a year's delay the Government appointed a Commission of three judges to investigate the activities of the Irish Nationalist movement. The letter was proved to have been forged by a needy adventurer, who shot himself on exposure. The judges, whose Report was not ready till February 1890,

found that the leaders of the Irish party were not collectively engaged in a conspiracy to secure the independence of Ireland, but that some of them supported separation and incited to intimidation, though not to serious crime.

Parnell had no sooner vindicated his character against a damaging charge than the political world was convulsed by the news that he had for some years been living with Mrs. O'Shea, the wife of one of his Parliamentary flock. Most of the Irish members declared that he must for a time withdraw from the leadership of the party, and Gladstone publicly advised in the same sense. He refused to resign, turned savagely on his old friends and allies, and killed himself by overstrain in 1891 at the age of forty-five. The exposure of Parnell and the unedifying conflict within the Nationalist Party destroyed the chances of a Liberal triumph at the polls. The formulation of a programme by the National Liberal Federation at Newcastle in 1891, commonly described as the Newcastle programme, containing Home Rule, Disestablishment of the Church in Wales, Local Option in regard to the granting of licences for the sale of liquor, abolition of plural voting, payment of Members, Employers' Liability, and the establishment of parish councils, aroused more antagonism than fervent zeal.

The election of 1892 was a bitter pill to Gladstone, who only secured a majority of 40 and depended on the Irish vote. The second Home Rule Bill differed from the first in proposing the retention of 80 members from Ireland, with power to vote only on matters in which their country was concerned. But the 'in and out' proposal broke down in debate, and it was decided to retain them for all purposes. This plan proved as unpopular as exclusion, and fear of the ill-treatment of

Ulster was undiminished. The Bill passed its third reading by the slender majority of 34, and was rejected by the House of Lords by 419 to 41. The Government proceeded to pass a Parish Councils Bill, which continued the reform of local administration begun in 1888. The session of 1893 lasted through the winter, and early in 1894 Gladstone resigned the Premiership. His last speech in the House of Commons pointed the moral of the situation by declaring that the issue of Lords and Commons had been raised and must be settled in favour of the elected Chamber. The duties of a Prime Minister weighed heavily on a man of eighty-five whose sight and hearing were affected, but the immediate cause of his resignation was dislike of the shipbuilding programme which a majority of his colleagues advised.

The brilliant but unstable Rosebery, who had been Foreign Secretary in the third and fourth Gladstone Ministries, succeeded to the position to which Harcourt was widely considered to have a prior claim. He was the Queen's choice, and Harcourt had to content himself with the leadership of the House of Commons, but his disappointment was followed by the greatest triumph of his career. The Budget of 1894 instituted moderate graduated duties on real and personal property passing at death. Though attacked by the Opposition, the death duties were retained when the Unionists took office in the following year. The Budget of 1894 was the last success of a divided and dispirited Government. The Prime Minister complained bitterly of responsibility without power, and in June 1895 the Government resigned on a defeat in a thin House on the adequacy of the supply of ammunition. Its members were glad to go.

At the ensuing election the Unionists secured a record

majority of 152, and Salisbury formed his third Administration, in which Hartington, who had succeeded his father as Duke of Devonshire, Chamberlain, Lansdowne, and other Liberal Unionists held important posts. Rarely, if ever, had a stronger team ruled at Westminster, and never had the British people felt more confident of itself than in the closing phase of the Victorian era. Relief was granted in 1896 to agriculture by remitting half the rates, an Employers' Liability Bill was passed in 1897, and in 1899 borough councils were established in London. In Ireland popularly elected county councils took the place of the grand juries in 1898, and in 1899 a Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was established on lines suggested by Horace Plunkett, who became its first head. Though agrarian agitation diminished, political discontent remained; but the personal divisions in the Irish party resulting from the Parnell crisis paralysed its Parliamentary influence.

The main attention of the Government and the country was devoted rather to external than to domestic affairs. The arresting personality of Chamberlain attracted attention to the work of the Colonial Office, and advantage was taken of the presence of the Colonial Premiers at the Diamond Jubilee in 1897 to discuss methods of drawing the component parts of the Empire together. In 1900 the federal constitution drawn up by the Australian Colonies was accepted by the Home Government. Friendly relations with the United States were temporarily interrupted by a sharp dispute over the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela. England was condemned to look on while the Sultan massacred his Armenian subjects, but she assisted in the expulsion of Turkish troops from the Greek-speaking island of Crete. An insurrection among the

tribes on the North-West Frontier of India led to a costly campaign in 1897. In the scramble for concessions in China, Salisbury proved no match for the rough-handed diplomatists of Germany and Russia, and the lease of Wei-hai-Wei in 1898 failed to avert a diminution of British prestige in the Far East. In another continent the Government showed greater decision. In 1896 the Anglo-Egyptian army advanced to Dongola on the middle Nile, and in 1898 the Dervish forces were annihilated outside their capital at Omdurman. Though the Sudan passed juridically under Anglo-Egyptian control, it was the British who found the money and called the tune.

While the Empire was occupied with war and rumours of war in every quarter of the world, dark clouds were gathering in South Africa. On New Year's Day 1896, Jameson, the Administrator of Rhodesia, invaded the Transvaal with 600 men, but was quickly captured by a superior force of Boers. The plan of the Raid, though not the exact date, was known to Rhodes, and it was widely believed that it was also known to Chamberlain. A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to probe the conspiracy; but since Rhodes's solicitor refused to produce the telegrams in his possession, the Secretary of the South Africa Company was nowhere to be found, and no punishment was inflicted on Rhodes, the report increased the suspicion of the Transvaal Boers that their independence was in danger. In the same year Milner was appointed High Commissioner and began to champion the claims of the so-called Outlanders in Johannesburg with zeal equal to their own. On 9 October 1899, after protracted negotiations and when a British army was on the way to the Cape, the Transvaal, supported by the Orange Free State, issued an ultimatum. Neither Salisbury nor Chamberlain

desired a conflict, though they were resolved to secure certain rights for British settlers, whatever the cost. Milner, on the other hand, believing that Kruger would yield nothing except to force and that he aimed at the expulsion of the British from South Africa, forced the pace and welcomed the catastrophe.

The South African War was the first contest with white men in which Great Britain had engaged since the Crimean entanglement. It was quickly apparent that both the Intelligence Department and the equipment of the Army were gravely at fault, and Buller, the Commander-in-Chief, failed to justify his appointment. When in the closing days of the year the British forces were defeated thrice in a single week, the veteran Roberts was sent out with Kitchener as his Chief of Staff. The opening months of 1900 transformed the situation. Bloemfontein and Pretoria were occupied and the two republics were annexed.

While Unionists believed it to be a just and necessary war, Liberal opinion was sharply divided. Campbell-Bannerman, who had succeeded Harcourt as the Leader of the party early in 1899, spoke for the majority when he declared that it might have been avoided by a more tactful statesmanship, but he recognized that the conflict, once begun, must be carried to a successful issue. A smaller section, calling themselves Liberal Imperialists, pronounced the war to be inevitable. While the party was thus paralysed by dissensions, Salisbury dissolved Parliament in September 1900 and the Unionists were returned by an undiminished majority. It was not till April 1902 that peace was concluded by the Treaty of Vereeniging. Milner had advocated unconditional surrender, but Kitchener, who had succeeded Roberts as Commander-in-Chief, was willing to concede tolerable terms to an honourable foe.

When the dragging conflict was over, public attention turned to domestic affairs. Queen Victoria had died early in 1901, and Salisbury resigned on the ground of failing health at the conclusion of the war, the reversion falling to Balfour. A Bill was passed in 1902 transferring the control of elementary education from school boards to county and town councils. Though administratively a beneficial reform, it was fiercely resented by Nonconformists. Denominational schools were granted support from the rates, and though the public authority controlled the secular education, the head teacher had to belong to the denomination and a permanent majority of denominational managers was guaranteed. In 1904 a scarcely less controversial measure gave licence-holders a right to compensation from a fund levied on the trade if the annual licence for the sale of liquor was not renewed.

The most important legislative achievement of the Parliament elected in 1900 was the Irish Land Act of 1903. Dual ownership having broken down despite the reduction of rents decreed by the Land Court set up by Gladstone in 1881, far-seeing landlords and tenants were coming to regard State-aided purchase as the only solution of their troubles. At a Conference held in 1902 under the chairmanship of Dunraven, a respected landlord who occupied a position midway between the rival orthodoxies of Dublin and Belfast, a scheme was framed which supplied the basis of the Act introduced by Wyndham, the gifted Chief Secretary. To bridge the gulf between the price the tenant could pay and the price the landlord could accept, a bonus of 12 per cent. was promised by the Treasury. The landlord received cash, while the tenant was to pay off the purchase money in $68\frac{1}{2}$ years by annual instalments which represented less than his old rent. Under this Act, the finance of

which had to be amended in 1909, Ireland became a country of small free-holders. Prosperity increased, and an intellectual revival, fostered by the Gaelic League, began. The demand of Catholic Ireland for Home Rule remained unaffected by good no less than by bad times.

Among other activities of the Balfour Ministry was the reorganization of the Army necessitated by the disquieting revelations of the South African War. The office of permanent Commander-in-Chief was abolished, and control was transferred to an Army Council presided over by the Secretary for War. Still more important was the creation of a Committee of Imperial Defence under the presidency of the Prime Minister. The appointment of Fisher to the post of First Sea Lord in 1904 was followed by the scrapping of obsolete ships and the concentration of the fleet in home waters. The policy of the Government was laid down in the Cawdor Memorandum of 1905, which advised the annual construction of four battleships of the newly invented *Dreadnought* type, for the construction of a formidable German fleet was beginning to cast its shadow over the North Sea.

In 1903 the Balfour Government was shaken by an internal convulsion. On his return from a visit to South Africa, Chamberlain startled the world by demanding colonial preference as a means of binding the Empire together. He had invited the Colonies at the Jubilee of 1897 to form a *Zollverein*; but though Canada granted a preference to British goods, and her example was subsequently followed by other colonies, none of them allowed free entry. He had next attempted to introduce colonial preference by a back door when the Cabinet proposed to drop the 1s. duty on corn imposed for revenue purposes in 1901, but Ritchie, the Chancellor

of the Exchequer, insisted on total abolition. Beaten in the Cabinet, Chamberlain appealed to public opinion. Balfour declared for retaliation as a means of reducing foreign tariffs, but refused to accept the taxation of food, and promised that no fiscal changes would be made by the existing Parliament. In September the storm burst. Chamberlain left the Cabinet in order to conduct his Protectionist campaign; and Ritchie, Lord George Hamilton, and the Duke of Devonshire resigned because they disapproved the Prime Minister's newly announced fiscal views. The Unionist ex-Chancellors, Goschen and Hicks-Beach, also declared their opposition to the Chamberlain programme, while Winston Churchill and a few other prominent Unionists joined the Liberal Party.

The Balfour Cabinet, reconstructed with lesser men, held on for two years with diminishing prestige. In 1905 Wyndham was forced to resign by the Irish Unionists, who denounced him for coquetting with schemes of devolution. Widespread indignation was aroused by the introduction of Chinese coolies into the Transvaal mines under conditions existing nowhere else in the British Empire. Conscious of the growing unpopularity of his Government, and weakened by the divisions of his party, Balfour resigned office in November 1905. He had displayed remarkable parliamentary skill; but the greatest personal success of the team was Lansdowne, whose treaties with Japan and France and skilful handling of the Macedonian problem revealed his diplomatic ability. The Unionists had been in power for ten years and the pendulum was ready for a vigorous swing.

On Balfour's resignation, Campbell-Bannerman formed a Ministry. When he accepted the leadership of the Liberal Party he was only known as a capable administrator. The divisions that had caused Rosebery to

resign his post in 1896 and Harcourt to follow his example three years later were intensified on the outbreak of the Boer War, but he held tenaciously to his convictions and waited patiently for the turn of the tide. The inauguration of the Protectionist campaign in 1903 reunited the Liberals. Among the champions of Free Trade none was more active than Rosebery; but he had altered his views about Ireland, and shortly before the change of ministry he asserted that he would never serve under a Home Rule banner. Despite his withdrawal, his political friends the Liberal Imperialists, including Asquith, Grey and Haldane, accepted office in the new Ministry. Parliament was dissolved in the New Year.

Though a Liberal victory was anticipated, the crushing defeat of the Unionists in January 1906 was a surprise. The most striking feature of the election was the appearance of 29 members of the Labour Party. Keir Hardie, its founder and prophet, had sat alone in the Parliament of 1892, and he and one or two more working men were members of the Parliament of 1900. They now formed a recognized party, which quickly earned respect by its ability, sincerity, and scrupulous observance of the forms of the House. While the working men who sat on the Liberal benches represented the older and more individualist trade union tradition, the Labour Party was predominantly Socialist, and spoke for the new unionism which dates from the great London Dock Strike of 1889. Its most influential members were Ramsay MacDonald and Arthur Henderson, Philip Snowden and George Barnes.

One of the first tasks of the new Government was to prohibit the further introduction of Chinese labour into South Africa, and to grant self-governing institutions to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony. It was an act of faith on the part of the Prime Minister and was de-

nounced by the Unionists, but its wisdom soon became apparent. The Chinese were gradually repatriated without damage to the mining interest, and British and Dutch began to co-operate in the development of their common country. In 1909 the two new colonies combined with Cape Colony and Natal under a Constitution hammered out by themselves, and in 1910 General Botha became head of the first Union Cabinet with General Smuts as his right-hand man.

The most important Bill of the opening session in 1906 was designed to remove the grievances of the Free Churches arising from the Education Act of 1902; but the Lords insisted on alterations which the Government refused to accept, and subsequent attempts met with no better fortune. The session also witnessed the addition of 6 million workers to those already entitled to compensation for accident, the restoration to trade unions of the powers which they had possessed before the Taff Vale Judgement, and contributions from the rates to the feeding of necessitous schoolchildren. A measure to abolish plural voting was rejected by the House of Lords.

The session of 1907 was less eventful; but a Territorial Army was created by Haldane in which the old Volunteer associations were merged, new facilities were granted for the establishment of small holdings, and medical inspection of schoolchildren was introduced. On the debit side, Bills to create small holdings in Scotland and to determine the capital value of land were rejected by the Lords. A Bill transferring certain departments of local administration to a Council sitting in Dublin was condemned by the Nationalists as an inadequate substitute for Home Rule and was withdrawn by the Government. When the session was over the Prime Minister was struck down. He resigned early

in 1908, and died soon after. While the grant of self-government to the Boers had shown his courage and foresight, his leadership of the House, poor speaker though he was, revealed his capacity for inspiring the affection of his followers. Asquith, the best debater in the House, became Prime Minister, and his place as Chancellor of the Exchequer was filled by Lloyd George, the idol of the Radical wing.

The session of 1908 was as crowded and eventful as that of 1906. Measures establishing Old Age Pensions of 5s. a week at the age of seventy and protecting child life against moral and physical evils were carried, but the largest project, the Licensing Bill, was rejected by the Lords. Asquith immediately declared that the Veto of the hereditary Chamber, which had already rejected or mutilated several measures passed by large majorities in the Lower House, was henceforward the dominant issue in politics. The session of 1909 witnessed fierce hostilities between the Houses. Bills to establish a university for Irish Catholics and to increase the power of public authorities over housing and town planning were passed; but the Budget, which had to find money for the increasing burden of the Navy and Old Age Pensions, was rejected by the Lords on 30 November. Their action, which was due to dislike of the proposed land taxes, rendered a Dissolution inevitable, and the double issue of the Budget and the veto was submitted to the electors. Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and the North of England stood by the Government, but the Unionists won back the South and returned to Westminster with a net gain of 100 seats. The two great parties were now almost equal, but the support of the Labour and Nationalist members furnished a majority of 122 opposed to the veto of the Upper House.

In 1910 the Lords accepted the Budget of 1909, which

was sent up to them unchanged. The Government's policy in regard to the Upper Chamber was then presented in the form of Resolutions, the first abolishing the veto on finance, the second limiting the veto on other measures to two years, the third reducing the maximum life of a Parliament from seven to five years. The limitation of the veto had been urged by Bright in 1884, by Gladstone in his valedictory speech in 1894, by Rosebery while Prime Minister, and was now reaffirmed after prolonged debate. Meanwhile, the House of Lords, at the instigation of Rosebery, passed resolutions providing that the possession of a peerage should not of itself carry with it a seat in the Upper House, but the suggestion was never carried out.

While the political armies stood facing each other in battle array, Edward VII died and the leaders of the two great parties entered into a conference on the controversial issues of the day. Its failure was announced in November, and Parliament was immediately dissolved. The Unionist leaders outlined a plan for reducing the size of the Upper Chamber, obtaining half its members by election or nomination, and settling grave disputes by a referendum. Thus one party proposed the alteration of its composition, the other the limitation of its powers. No one desired a single chamber.

The Asquith Government was confirmed in power by an undiminished majority, and in 1911 proceeded to give effect to the verdict of the constituencies. When the Peers introduced amendments to the Parliament Bill which transformed its character, the Prime Minister announced that he had obtained permission from the Sovereign to create as many peers as might be needed to secure its passage in the original form. Lansdowne and Balfour, the Unionist leaders in the two Houses,

advised the Opposition to cease resistance, but the 'Die-hard' peers voted against the measure, which was only carried by a majority of 17. Balfour's resignation followed the revolt against his authority, and Bonar Law, the chief Parliamentary champion of Tariff Reform, was chosen leader of the Opposition in the Lower House. The veto of the Peers having been limited, Bills for granting Home Rule to Ireland and for disestablishing the Church in Wales were passed through the Commons in the following sessions. In the sphere of social reform the main achievement was Lloyd George's system of insurance against sickness, invalidity and unemployment, the funds being provided by contributions from the employers, the workers, and the State.

During the years immediately preceding the war of 1914 political life was embittered by three passionate controversies. The first was the Marconi incident, in which certain Liberal Ministers were involved by the purchase of shares in the American Marconi Company, a transaction generally believed to be due to an error of judgement, not to dishonourable intentions. The second was the adoption of militant methods by certain champions of women suffrage. The third was the approach of a Home Rule Bill to the Statute Book under the slow operation of the Veto Act of 1911, which deprived the Upper House of the power to reject a measure passed by the House of Commons in three consecutive sessions of a single Parliament. Under these circumstances, the Protestant half of Ulster resolved to look after itself. Since Nationalists and British Home Rulers declined to contemplate the permanent exclusion of the province from the authority of a government in Dublin and Ulster objected to Home Rule in any form, no compromise appeared possible. The Ulstermen found a dynamic leader in Carson, who, though him-

self an eminent lawyer, proclaimed his intention to oppose the establishment of Home Rule if necessary by force, and proceeded to arm volunteers, his example being followed by the Nationalists. When the Home Rule Bill was introduced in the session of 1914 for the third time the Government, with the reluctant assent of the Irish party, offered a compromise. Any county in Ulster might vote itself out of the jurisdiction of the Dublin Parliament for six years. This would allow the working of the new system to be tested, and meanwhile two General Elections would enable the British Parliament to make other arrangements if desired. The olive branch was rejected by Carson, who refused to accept concessions to Ulster as the price of leaving the southern Unionists to their fate.

The announcement of the resolve to resist an Act of Parliament placed the Government in a dilemma. Should it shed the blood of recalcitrant Ulstermen, or should it submit to the threat of violence? The question became urgent when certain officers at the Curragh Camp near Dublin expressed unwillingness to take part in coercion. Seely, the War Minister, declared that the Government had no intention of using the Army to crush political opposition; but his statement was repudiated by the Cabinet, and he resigned, Asquith adding the duties of the War Office to those of the Premiership. The Curragh incident led to a violent explosion of feeling, Liberals accusing Unionists of preaching rebellion, Unionists charging Liberals with plotting an attack on Ulster. So menacing did the situation appear that at the invitation of the King two members each from the Government, the Opposition, the Irish Nationalists, and the Ulstermen met at Buckingham Palace on 21 July. Four meetings failed to produce agreement. That parts of Ulster should be

provisionally excluded from the authority of the Irish Parliament was not in dispute, but whether the counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh should be under Dublin or Westminster proved impossible to decide. The dreaded collision was averted by the outbreak of war, which involved the indefinite postponement of the Home Rule Bill.

While domestic controversy was always acute, a considerable measure of agreement existed in regard to external questions. Both parties accepted the Japanese Alliance of 1902, the Anglo-French Treaty of 1904, and the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907; both supported unconditional arbitration with the United States and the maintenance of a supreme Navy; most of the Unionist leaders agreed with the Government in opposing the demand for conscription put forward by Lord Roberts in anticipation of a German attack. Few men on either side wished either to increase or to diminish the size of the Empire: the problem was to defend and develop the vast territories which owed allegiance to the British Crown. By 1914 Canada, Australia, and South Africa were less daughter nations than partners. The Colonial Conference grew into the Imperial Conference, the Colonies became Dominions, and their governments negotiated commercial treaties with foreign Powers. Canada and Australia created their own fleets. When the call came in August 1914 it was realized by friend and foe alike that a union of hearts was stronger than links of steel.

CHAPTER II

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

THE history of the Third Republic is a record of earnest endeavour to extricate France from the abyss into which she was plunged by Napoleon III. The connecting thread is the establishment of republican institutions and their defence against enemies within and without. Time confirmed the truth of Thiers' famous formula, 'It is the Republic which divides us least', and Gambetta, the eloquent hero of the National Defence in the Franco-German War, kindled the imagination of the young. When the Comte de Chambord, grandson of Charles X, refused to accept the tricolour flag, all but the most extreme Legitimists ceased to urge his restoration. A Constitution was drawn up in 1875 with two chambers and a President elected by them in joint session for seven years. A Clerico-Monarchist attack in 1877 by President MacMahon and the Orleanist leader, the Duc de Broglie, was repulsed, the finances were placed on a sound basis by Léon Say, the Army was enlarged and reorganized, Tunis was added to the Colonial Empire, secular education was instituted by Jules Ferry, and Grévy, a staunch Republican, was elected President in 1879. At Gambetta's death in 1882, the edifice of which he was the chief architect gave fair promise of stability.

The Ministry of Ferry, which held office from 1883 to 1885, witnessed not only the extension of French Indo-China, but also a modification of the Constitution. It was enacted that the republican form of government should never be subject to revision, that members of the families which had reigned in France should be

ineligible for the Presidency, that no more life senators should be created, and that single-member constituencies should be replaced by the *scrutin de liste*. The fall of Ferry after a military reverse in Tonkin was followed by elections in which nearly half the votes were given to Monarchists. The Republicans were divided into the Opportunists, who inherited the tradition of Gambetta, and the Radicals, of whom the most brilliant gladiator was Clemenceau; but in face of the common danger they combined to elect Grévy for a second presidential term. Their nervousness was further shown by the expulsion in 1886 of the leading members of families which had ruled in France, a measure aimed at the Comte de Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe, who, since the death of the childless Comte de Chambord in 1883, had become the candidate of Legitimists and Orleanists alike.

A foe more formidable to the Republic than the gentle and unambitious Comte de Paris was at hand. Early in 1886 Boulanger, whom Gambetta had called one of the four best officers in France, became Minister of War and ingratiated himself with the soldiers by increasing their comforts. At a review on the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille he was received with acclamation by the crowd. A Boulangist movement began under the auspices of Rochefort, a fiery journalist, and Déroulède, whose programme was the suppression of the parliamentary régime and the dictatorship of the General. Early in 1887, when the arrest of Schnaebelen, a French official, on German soil seemed to threaten a second conflict, Boulanger's swaggering Chauvinism increased his popularity with the Paris mob. The fall of the Freycinet Ministry of which he was a member and his dispatch to the command of an army corps in the provinces in no way diminished his influence. The

Clerical, Monarchist, and Bonapartist parties saw a chance of overturning the Republic, and the Comte de Paris supplied money for the campaign.

The danger was increased by a presidential crisis. Shortly after the re-election of Grévy in 1886 it was discovered that his son-in-law, Wilson, was selling honours from the Élysée itself. The veteran President was forced to resign, and though Carnot, the respected grandson of the Organizer of Victory in the Wars of the French Revolution, succeeded him, the prestige of the Republic received a damaging blow. At this moment Boulanger came to Paris without permission. He was deprived of his command, but in January 1889 his election for the department of the Seine by an overwhelming majority showed that the capital was behind him. Had he struck on the night of his triumph, he would have slain the Republic. The opportunity passed, and a few weeks later, on learning that he was to be arrested, he fled from the country. In his absence he was tried for treason and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. A few months later the sham Napoleon committed suicide on the grave of his mistress in Brussels.

The Exhibition of 1889, the centenary of the Great Revolution, helped to strengthen confidence in the Republic. Single-member constituencies were restored, candidatures for more than one seat forbidden, and at the elections of 1889 the Royalist vote sank from 45 to 21 per cent. No legislation of importance was passed except that which set up a general tariff in 1892, but the tranquillity was violently disturbed by the Panama scandals. De Lesseps, after constructing the Suez Canal, determined to pierce the Isthmus of Panama, a project as old as Philip II. The thrifty French peasantry readily entrusted him with their

savings, and a company was formed in 1881. The engineering difficulties proved greater than had been anticipated, and tropical diseases played havoc with the workmen. In 1888 the company needed further capital, and, failing to obtain it, suspended the payment of interest. The shareholders were willing to forfeit their interest till the opening of the canal, and De Lesseps was offered the chairmanship of a new company, with a million pounds to complete the work; but he had lost self-confidence and refused to undertake further responsibilities. Moreover, the United States, which had kept up a running fire of criticism from the start, now expressed open hostility, for the Monroe Doctrine warned off European trespassers. Three foreign Commissioners were sent to Panama, and their report destroyed the last illusions of the investors. Though 50 millions had already been raised, 30 millions more would be required, and even when the canal was open for traffic the prospect of revenue was believed to be small.

These revelations were followed by others which intensified the poignancy of the disaster. It was discovered that barely two-thirds of the sum already raised had been spent on the isthmus, and a Parliamentary Committee reported that members of both Chambers had received bribes. Early in 1893 the Directors of the Company were brought to trial. De Lesseps was sentenced to imprisonment, but as he was nearly ninety and almost imbecile, he was allowed to end his days in peace. If the Boulanger crisis revealed the weakness of the Republic, Panama disclosed the moral failings of some of its champions. It seemed, indeed, to be pursued by a remorseless fate. In 1894 the blameless Carnot was assassinated by an anarchist, and his successor, Casimir-Périer, after seven months of office, resigned his exalted post. He had been violently attacked by

the Socialists and the Extreme Left, and his ministers concealed decisions in reference to foreign policy and national defence. Responsibility without power was not to his taste.

While the Republic was thus receiving blow upon blow, it seemed as if it were about to make peace with a formidable adversary. Though the clergy detested the Italian policy of Napoleon III, they preferred him to his successors. When MacMahon dismissed Jules Simon and appointed the Duc de Broglie, the Church warmly supported the attempt of the Royalists to capture the executive. It was after the historic election of 1877 that Gambetta uttered his famous declaration, '*Le cléricalisme, voilà l'ennemi*'. Open war was declared when Ferry banished the Jesuits and attempted to forbid members of unauthorized Orders to teach. Under the circumstances, it was not surprising that the Church and the Orders should have supported Boulanger's endeavour to overturn the Republic. The crisis suggested to many Republicans the desirability of attempting to disarm the hostility of the Church, and a powerful influence in the direction of peace was exerted from the Vatican. In 1890 Cardinal Lavigerie hoisted the signal of reconciliation by proposing the toast of the Republic in the presence of French officers on a visit to Algiers, and in 1892 Leo XIII took the decisive step of issuing an Encyclical urging French Catholics to rally to the Republic. The majority of Royalists, led by the Comte de Mun, followed his injunctions and formed the party of the 'Ralliés'. The Republicans showed their appreciation by dropping the demand for the separation of Church and State in the elections of 1893, but the halcyon days were few and were followed by far fiercer combats.

A new element of discord had been introduced into

French politics by a campaign against the Jews, inaugurated by the vitriolic journalist Drumont, and his contention that France was being exploited by alien financiers received some shadow of confirmation from the Panama scandals. The support of Catholics for the anti-Semitic drive was secured by attributing the anti-clericalism of the Republic to the influence of the Jews, while the Army was adjured to purge itself of the Semitic virus which was alleged to be working on behalf of the national enemy. In October 1894 Drumont's organ, *La Libre Parole*, announced a concrete case of treason. Captain Dreyfus, a Jewish officer of artillery, was arrested on the charge of betraying military secrets to Germany. He was tried by court-martial, sentenced to detention for life, publicly degraded, and transported to a convict island off French Guiana. Though the arrest attracted little notice at the time, it was suspected in some quarters that his condemnation was unjust. In 1896 Colonel Picquart, who had become head of the Intelligence Department of the War Office, informed the Minister for War that he believed the incriminating letter to have been written by Major Esterhazy. The War Office replied by sending Picquart on foreign service and replacing him by Colonel Henry. The next step was taken in 1897, when Scheurer-Kestner, a Protestant Senator, announced his conviction that the prisoner of the Devil's Isle was innocent; but the Méline Ministry replied that it was impossible to go behind the judgement of the court.

France was now ranged in hostile camps. On the side of Dreyfus were such doughty warriors as Clemenceau, Jaurès, Joseph Reinach, Zola, and Anatole France; against him were the Paris mob, the Army, the Church, with a few Catholic and Royalist Intellectuals, such as Brunetière and Jules Lemaître, Coppée and Paul

Bourget. In the anti-Dreyfusard camp was also found President Félix Faure, who had succeeded Casimir-Périer. Esterhazy was acquitted of writing the letter by a court-martial, Zola was condemned for attacking the Army, and Picquart was imprisoned without trial for his championship of Dreyfus. The elections of 1898 led to the resignation of the Méline Cabinet and the formation of a Radical Ministry under Brisson, but the majority was still anti-Dreyfusard. When the Chamber met, the War Minister, Cavaignac, presented new proofs of the prisoner's guilt, but a month later Colonel Henry confessed that the documents had been fabricated by himself and committed suicide in prison. His forgeries left the Government no choice but to refer the case to the Cour de Cassation. The trial was delayed by the hostility of Brisson's successor, Dupuy, but an obstacle to revision was removed by the sudden death of Faure in the early days of 1899.

The defenders of Dreyfus were animated by an unselfish determination to secure the release of an innocent man, but a simple miscarriage of military justice would not have convulsed the nation. As the drama developed he became the symbol of principles supported or attacked without much reference to his guilt or innocence. His chief defenders were Protestants, Jews, freethinkers, Radicals, and Socialists. The core of the anti-Dreyfusard coalition was anti-Republican, and the fight for Dreyfus developed into a fight for the Republic. On the day of Faure's funeral Déroulède attempted to lead General Roget, a prominent anti-Dreyfusard who was on duty with his troops, against the Élysée. The attempt failed and Déroulède was banished, but an organized assault on Loubet, the new President, showed that the danger was not over.

The existence of the Republic was thrice seriously

threatened in the first thirty years. The Royalist attack of 1877 had been mainly frustrated by Gambetta, that of Boulanger by Constans. That it emerged unscathed from the still more formidable onslaught of the anti-Dreyfusards was mainly due to Waldeck-Rousseau, who took office when the failure to screen the head of the State from insult led to the fall of the Dupuy Ministry in June 1899. He had already made his name at the Bar when he entered Parliament in 1879. He quickly attracted the attention of Gambetta, and became Minister of the Interior in the *Grand Ministère* and again in the long Ministry of Jules Ferry. When the latter fell in 1885 his follower returned to the Bar, where his practice was so lucrative that it was generally believed that he would never again embark on the stormy sea of politics; yet when the existence of the Republic seemed at stake in 1899 he responded to the call. His cool brain, prestige, and disinterestedness exerted a tranquillizing effect, and his choice of colleagues demonstrated his resolve to unite all sincere Republicans. Though declaring himself 'a convinced individualist', he appointed the Socialist Millerand Minister of Public Works. To reassure the Army he persuaded General Galliffet, famous as a *beau sabreur* and as the hammer of the Communards in 1871, to accept the War Office.

The first task of the Ministry was to liquidate the case around which such furious passions had raged. In accordance with the decision of the Cour de Cassation, Dreyfus was brought home and tried before a court-martial at Rennes. He was found guilty by five votes to two, and sentenced to ten years' detention; but the verdict carried no weight, and the sorely-tried Jew was pardoned by the President of the Republic. The whole case was subsequently investigated by the Cour de

Cassation, and he was reinstated in the Army with promotion to the rank of major. The termination of 'the affair' was, however, only the beginning of the task of reconstruction. The higher officers, 'Nationalist' almost to a man, had usurped a position which no State could tolerate, and one of the first steps was to assert the supremacy of the Government. But the Army was not the only danger.

The recent rapprochement between the Church and the Republic was rudely disturbed when *La Croix* and other clerical papers flung themselves into the campaign against Dreyfus. The attack was repulsed, and the Republicans proceeded to retaliate. Despite their precarious legal position, the membership of the greater religious Orders had grown sixfold since their nominal suppression by Ferry, while their property was estimated at 40 millions. Such rapid progress in numbers and wealth was watched with a not too friendly eye by the parochial clergy, who were assured by the Premier that they would not be affected by the coming legislation. The right to associate for legal purposes was freed from restrictions, but religious congregations could only be formed by a special statute, and the rules of each Order were to be submitted for approval. No member of an unauthorized Order could teach in any school. The Premier denied that the measure was an attack on religion. There was no desire, he declared, for wholesale suppression: each case would be decided on its merits. Several Orders failed to regularize their position and were at once proscribed.

Waldeck-Rousseau, whose health had deteriorated, resigned in 1902, and died two years later. His three years' rule had re-established the prestige of the Republic. His successor, Combes, a zealous anti-clerical, continued the campaign against the Associations

with a harshness which provoked some public condemnation. He closed schools recently opened in private buildings on the ground that they were conducted by members of religious Associations, and suppressed those conducted by Orders which had not applied for authorization. In 1904 a further law forbade members even of authorized Orders to teach. Though the harrying of the Associations involved exile and poverty to individuals, the policy of the Government was accepted by the mass of the nation; for the Church was regarded as the sworn foe of the institutions and ideology of the Republic.

No sooner were the Associations dissolved than an even graver step became imminent. Combes had declared that his shafts would be aimed at the monks, not at the priests, but the distinction could not long be maintained. Though the separation of Church and State had been advocated in the earlier years of the Republic, little was heard of it after the Pope's *beau geste* in 1892 and it was disavowed by Waldeck-Rousseau; but after the ill-advised intervention of the Church in the Dreyfus crisis the demand revived. On the accession of Pius X in 1903 the conciliatory policy of Leo XIII and Cardinal Rampolla, his Secretary of State, was discontinued. The Premier challenged the wording of the papal bulls for the institution of bishops, contending that the Papacy had no choice but to institute the candidate nominated by the Government. A deadlock ensued and no further bishops were appointed under the Concordat, which Combes now threatened to abrogate. The Pope denounced the tendencies of the Government, and when President Loubet paid a return visit to Victor Emmanuel in Rome in April 1904 his protest was loud. The Ministry replied by withdrawing the French Ambassador to the Vatican.

Shortly after the Pope issued orders to two bishops without communication with the Government. Combes retorted by withdrawing the French *chargé d'affaires* and advising the recall of the Nuncio from Paris.

The inevitable sequel of this embittered conflict was the abrogation of the Concordat. In pursuance of his task of national pacification, Napoleon had restored the Church in 1801; but, following the Gallican tradition, he reserved large powers to the executive, and Organic Articles were drawn up which, though not accepted by the Pope, were applied by successive governments. The arrangement lasted for a century, and might have continued but for the simultaneous accession to power of two such enemies of compromise as Pius X and Émile Combes. In 1904 a Committee of the Chamber was appointed to inquire into the problem of separation. The report of its Chairman, Briand, a rising Socialist barrister, formed the basis of the proposals presented to Parliament early in 1905 and carried into law by the end of the year.

The Combes Ministry fell before the discussion began, but its intransigent policy survived. The Separation Law declared that the Republic no longer recognized nor supported any religious organization, and that the property of such bodies, of which an inventory was to be made by the State, should be transferred to Associations of Public Worship. Salaries for the older clergy were continued for life, in other cases according to the length of service. The same arrangements applied to Protestant and Jewish ministers, who had likewise received salaries from the State, and who, though loyal to the Republic, had to suffer with the rest. The taking of the inventories of the Churches led to painful conflicts in which the troops sometimes had to intervene. The kernel of the scheme was the *Association Cultuelle*,

which the Protestants and Jews adopted, and which most French bishops approved; but the Vatican forbade their formation, and valuable resources passed out of their control. Sincere sympathy was felt by moderate Republicans, and Briand, who became Minister of Education and Public Worship in the Clemenceau Cabinet in 1906, administered the new law with forbearance.

After the termination of the struggle with the Church the attention of French statesmen was mainly directed to labour problems. The excesses of the Paris Commune in 1871 had brought suspicion on every kind of Socialism, and it was not till the exiles returned after the amnesty of 1879 that it began to raise its head. For a time its leader was Jules Guesde, an orthodox Marxist; but before long Benoît Malon, Brousse, and Allemane declared that more could be gained from piecemeal reform than from a frontal attack on society. Trade unions were legalized in 1884, and a rapprochement between Radicals and moderate collectivists was urged by Jaurès and Millerand, two *bourgeois* converts. In the election of 1893 fifty Socialists were returned, and the Socialist vote again increased at the election of 1898. The entry of Millerand into a *bourgeois* Cabinet in 1899 incensed the party of Guesde, and the new Minister was denounced as a renegade. Undeterred by these attacks, the main body of Socialist deputies, brilliantly marshalled by Jaurès, the greatest orator in the Chamber, formed an essential part of the *bloc* to which France owed her recovery after the Dreyfus controversy. The alliance became more intimate under Combes, and when Clemenceau took office in 1906 he appointed a Socialist, Viviani, to the newly created Ministry of Labour. The relations between Radicals and Socialists, however, began to show signs of strain. The attack on the Church which had brought them together was over.

Social legislation was neglected, strikes were quelled with severity, and the Tiger lost no opportunity of emphasizing his contempt for Socialism.

The main reason for the disintegration of the *bloc* was less the uncompromising personality of Clemenceau than the emergence of revolutionary types of thought in labour circles. On the one hand, a section of Socialist opinion extended its support to the extreme pacifism of Hervé, who advised a military strike in case of war. On the other, the General Confederation of Labour, founded in 1896, developed into a body frankly contemptuous of constitutional action. The growing power and audacity of Syndicalism alarmed the middle classes, and when the Prime Minister hit back he was warmly supported by the bulk of public opinion. Though the constitutional Socialists never identified themselves with these extreme schools of thought, they condemned the sentences passed upon their spokesmen. When the championship of the *bourgeoisie* became one of the main tasks of the Ministry, both sides realized that the *bloc* was at an end.

By an irony of fate the relations of the parties became still more strained when the first nominally Socialist Premier succeeded Clemenceau in 1909. In his hot youth Briand had advocated the general strike, but he had long been a convinced 'Possibilist'. The new Minister announced his desire for a policy of 'appeasement', and hinted that the dangers which had rendered the *bloc* necessary had passed away. His utterances, and still more his drastic method of terminating a railway strike by calling the strikers to the colours, aroused the suspicion of the Extreme Left, which hailed his fall in the spring of 1911 with delight. Short-lived Ministries of the Left under Monis and Caillaux were followed by the accession to power of Poincaré, a lawyer of high character, who embodied the new spirit of national

self-confidence which emerged from the perilous conflict with Germany over Morocco. Elected President of the Republic a year later in 1913, he entrusted the continuation of his policy successively to Briand and Barthou; but the former resigned on the defeat of his proposals for proportional representation in the Senate, while the latter, after securing the reversion to three years' military service in consequence of a large increase in the German Army, failed to carry his proposals for meeting the expense. The attack was led by Caillaux, who assumed control of the finances in a new Ministry under Doumergue, but his career was rudely interrupted when his wife murdered the Editor of *Figaro* in revenge for attacks on her husband. An undistinguished Ministry under Viviani had only just taken office when the European War broke out.

CHAPTER III

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

I

THE group of statesmen who had helped Cavour to unify Italy governed the country till the fall of Minghetti in 1876. High hopes were built on the triumph of the Left, but the new pilots quickly showed themselves to be no more successful than the old. Their chief, Depretis, who held office almost continuously for a decade, was personally incorrupt, but his practice of selecting ministers from every section reduced politics to a game of skill. Though elementary education was made compulsory and the franchise was extended, the later years of his rule were marked by inertia and discontent. The country became weary of a minister who lacked conviction, and when he died in 1887 the accession of Crispi, the most forceful personality on the political stage, was hailed with delight.

The new Premier, though sixty-eight, was full of vigour. He had begun life as a Republican, had taken part in the revolt of his native Sicily in 1848, and was one of Garibaldi's Thousand who landed at Marsala in 1860. After these dramatic events he accepted the monarchy and entered Parliament. When the Right fell in 1876 he became successively President of the Chamber and Minister of the Interior. The Court accepted him with a bad grace, for an unsuitable marriage cut him off from society and his manner was arrogant. His accession to office revealed both his ability and his defects. After the flabby administration of Depretis, the country was at first glad to feel a firm hand on the reins, but he

proved to be both rash and variable. His temper became intolerable under pressure of work, for he was Foreign Secretary as well as Minister of the Interior and Premier. His contempt for the arts of parliamentary management led to his overthrow in 1891, yet within three years an insurrection among the Sicilian peasantry and the critical state of the finances led to an irresistible demand for his recall.

Crispi's second Administration, which lasted from 1894 to 1896, forms a landmark in the history of modern Italy. Soon after the savage repression of the disorders in Sicily, it was announced that the Premier and his colleagues had received money from the Bank of Rome for the corruption of the Press and the electorate. He at once dissolved Parliament, and improved his position by striking thousands of opponents off the electoral list and aiding the Government candidates by a display of force. Backed by a large and docile majority, and at last enjoying the complete confidence of the King, he appeared thoroughly secure. Two years later the most powerful Minister between Cavour and Mussolini wrecked his ministry and terminated his career.

During the decade that succeeded unification Italy had devoted her energies to domestic problems, but on entering the Triple Alliance in 1882 it began to be felt that she ought to become a Great Power. Plans for a commercial settlement in Abyssinia had been discussed in the lifetime of Cavour, and in 1882 Depretis bought a small strip of coast on the Red Sea from a Genoese company. Three years later troops were sent to the port of Massawa, though it was declared to be merely a commercial enterprise. In 1887 an advance into the interior was commenced on the pretext of finding healthy quarters for the troops among the hills. The Abyssinians, who had been ready to concede trading

facilities, began to suspect designs on their independence, and the Negus John demanded a withdrawal to the coast. The demand was refused, and a column of 500 men was cut to pieces at Dogali. At this moment the scene changed. John was killed in battle by the Dervishes of the Sudan, and his successor, Menelik, mounted the throne with Italian aid. The new ruler signed a treaty which the Italian Government understood to recognize a protectorate over the whole of Abyssinia. In 1894 Italian troops repulsed a Dervish attack and occupied Kassala. Menelik, now firmly established, repudiated all idea of a protectorate. Crispi retorted by ordering the occupation of Adowa, the capital of one of the feudatory States, and demanding a categorical recognition of the Italian claim. Several small victories were won, but, while reinforcements were on the way, Baratieri with 14,000 men attacked an Abyssinian army of 80,000 and lost a third of his troops. The King and his Minister desired to continue the campaign, but the nation passed from exultation to profound gloom. The claim to a protectorate was abandoned, Crispi resigned, and the ill-starred experiment in aggressive imperialism was at an end.

The disaster of Adowa was a blessing in disguise, for Italy, a poor country, needed all her energies to set her house in order. High prices and heavy taxation intensified the discouragement, and the people began to lose faith in their rulers. The crisis came in 1898 when riots broke out in the great cities. For three days Milan was the scene of civil war, and the triumph of the troops was followed by savage repression. A panic seized the propertied classes. General Pelloux introduced drastic Bills relating to public meetings and associations, and when they were obstructed by the Left he issued them as ordinances by royal decree. The

Supreme Court in Rome declared them invalid, and, after a further attempt to pass the Bills, the Premier dissolved Parliament in 1900. In the Latin South the Government always obtains a majority, but industrial Italy was hostile, the Left returned with increased strength, and Pelloux resigned. A few days later Humbert was assassinated.

The death of the King and the resignation of Pelloux ended the mournful period which began with the Abyssinian disasters. Victor Emmanuel belonged to a type totally different from his father and grandfather: he was interested in social problems and was free from the craving for adventure which had led Italy to overtax her strength. Realizing that the discontent which had led to the crisis of 1898 could only be cured by reform, he called the veteran Radical leader, Zanardelli, to office. The termination of a costly tariff war with France in 1898 assisted the revival of trade, the production of silk and other staple industries rapidly increased, the financial credit of the country was restored, one surplus followed another, Luzzatti's conversion of the National Debt in 1906 lightened the burden of taxation, the *octroi* on corn and flour was abolished, the grants to education were increased, and the railways were nationalized. One of the features of the milder régime was the toleration of strikes if legally conducted, but in 1904 a general strike, accompanied by the destruction of property and the cutting of railways, caused a revulsion of feeling. Parliament was dissolved by Giolitti, the leader of the Left Centre, who had succeeded Zanardelli, and the parties of the Extreme Left were routed.

Though the claim to temporal power was still maintained, the old bitterness between the Vatican and the House of Savoy gradually diminished. At the outset of

his Pontificate, Pius X, the saintly successor of Leo XIII, allowed the Archbishop of Bologna to welcome the King on his visit to the city, and Italy was substituted for France as the Protector of the Eastern Catholics after the abolition of the Concordat in 1904. Though in theory abstaining from active politics, faithful sons of the Church were permitted and even encouraged to take part in warring against Socialists and anti-clericals.

If the balance-sheet of the opening phase of the reign of Victor Emmanuel compared favourably with the era of Crispi and Humbert, there was no ground for complacency. The south remained a running sore, poverty-stricken, ignorant, superstitious. Two secret societies, the Camorra in and around Naples and the Mafia in Sicily, were not yet extinct. The earthquake which annihilated Messina and the villages of the Calabrian coast in 1908 displayed the helplessness of the population. The reforms brought forward by the Conservative leader, Sonnino, during his short Ministry of 1906 were applied in an emasculated form when Giolitti returned to power. The land-tax was reduced, tariff exemptions were granted to infant industries, communications were improved, and new schools were opened, but the problem was so vast that improvement was scarcely perceptible. Another burden inherited by United Italy was the crushing National Debt. Public life was still corroded with corruption: how little confidence was felt in the integrity of Parliament was revealed in the excitement that attended the revision of the shipping subsidies. Finally, Italian politics were sterilized by the lack of genuine party distinctions and the tendency to fissure within the separate groups. It was, above all, his skill in the parliamentary game that made Giolitti the principal figure in Italian politics and brought him back to power when less practised performers were

hissed off the stage. The seizure of Tripoli in 1911 and the extension of the franchise in 1912 seemed to confirm his power, but in the spring of 1914 he made way for Salandra, a moderate Conservative, to whom, with Sonnino at the Foreign Office, it fell to decide the policy of Italy when the storm burst.

II

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century Spain slowly recovered from the chronic anarchy of the middle decades. The six years of confusion which followed the expulsion of Isabella in 1868 convinced the majority that the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy was inevitable. Nobody suggested the recall of the dissolute Queen; but at the end of 1874 her son, Alfonso, a lad of seventeen, on the advice of Canovas, the Conservative leader, issued a proclamation promising amnesty and constitutional government. The response was immediate. The Army proclaimed him, the Monarchists welcomed him, the Republicans accepted him. The young King was popular and sympathetic, though the moral atmosphere of his Court was no purer than that of his mother. The Conservatives under Canovas and the Liberals under Sagasta alternated in office by a friendly system of prearranged rotation.

Alfonso XII died of consumption in November 1885, leaving two daughters; but it was known that Queen Christina, an Austrian princess, was expecting another child. The birth of Alfonso XIII in 1886 and the devotion of his mother appealed to the chivalry of the nation. When the young King recovered from a terrible illness in 1890, Castelar, the veteran Republican, declared that he regarded Alfonso as doubly King, by law and by miracle. Domestic politics during the

minority were uneventful, but Spain was confronted with a problem of overwhelming difficulty in her colonies. Though the vast fabric of empire established in the sixteenth century had gradually crumbled away, she held tenaciously to the fragments, of which the most important was Cuba. On the news of the expulsion of Isabella a rising had taken place which smouldered on till 1878, when Martinez Campos, the Spanish commander, signed a convention promising liberal concessions. The pact was repudiated at Madrid, whereupon a second rising broke out and was ruthlessly suppressed. If ever a country deserved to lose its colonies, it was Spain. The last act in the long drama began with a more formidable revolt in 1895. Martinez Campos, whose name was the symbol of conciliation, was sent out with an olive branch; but the Cubans had learned to be suspicious of promises, and the General reported that the authority of Spain could only be restored by barbarous methods which he refused to employ. He was recalled in 1896 and succeeded by General Weyler, already known as 'the butcher', whose policy was to starve the rebels into surrender by destroying their crops and houses and herding non-combatants in concentration camps. Though the Spaniards had never been squeamish in their dealings with native races, Weyler's methods were too much for them; and when Canovas was murdered in 1897 Sagasta returned to power resolved to bring the desperate struggle to an end. A new commander was sent out with an offer of autonomy, the *Reconcentrados* were set at liberty, and a Parliament was summoned.

It was too late, for the Cubans insisted on independence and this time they knew that they were not without friends. In the early days of 1898 the battleship *Maine* was sent to Havana to defend American interests, and

soon after her arrival she was mysteriously blown up. The catastrophe cannot have been the work of any responsible Spaniard, for Madrid was now honestly bent on conciliation, but the situation had passed beyond the control of statesmen. Washington declared the Cubans free and independent, and Spain was summoned to withdraw her forces from the island. To such a demand there could only be one response. The main Spanish fleet was sent to Cuba, but the ships were foul, the guns obsolete and short of ammunition. After they entered the harbour of Santiago, an American squadron took up its station outside. When the town was threatened from the land side the fleet made a dash for liberty, but was sunk or driven ashore. The other Spanish fleet had already been destroyed in the harbour of Manila, the capital of the Philippines. Santiago quickly surrendered, preliminaries of peace were arranged, and a treaty was signed in Paris at the end of 1898. Spain renounced her possession of Cuba, the Philippines, and Porto Rico. The loss of her empire was a bitter humiliation, but it was quickly seen to be a blessing in disguise. For many years it had been a source of expense, and the perpetual strife in Cuba had produced a great weariness. When the first pangs of defeat were over, a determination to repair the loss by internal development manifested itself. Trade and commerce steadily increased, and the national credit improved. The country was in a far healthier condition when the Regency of Queen Christina ended in 1902 than when it began.

Alfonso XIII began his reign at the age of sixteen, and in 1906 he married Princess Ena of Battenberg. The English marriage was popular, for it gave Spain a powerful friend and pointed towards liberal government. The Regent had led a very secluded life, and the

revival of the normal activities of the Court was welcomed by Spanish society. The courage displayed by the youthful sovereigns when a bomb was hurled at them on their wedding-day evoked a thrill of sympathy, and the dynasty increased its hold on popular feeling. The young King escaped the criticism often aimed at his mother of being too much under clerical influence, despite the fact that after the fall of Sagasta in 1898 the Conservatives, led successively by Silvela and Maura, were almost continuously in office. After the death of the veteran Liberal leader none of his lieutenants commanded the allegiance of the whole party; but in 1909 two events, occurring simultaneously, brought the long period of Conservative domination to an end.

Though Spain had lost her distant possessions in 1898, she retained some stretches of the coastline of Morocco. When iron and lead were discovered near Melilla on the Mediterranean coast and a railway was built to the mines, the tribes rose and some workmen were massacred. The rebellion developed into a war which required the dispatch of over 40,000 troops. The casualties were considerable, and fever did its deadly work. The expenditure of so much blood and money on a speculators' war was bitterly resented, and poignant scenes were witnessed at the departure of the conscripts for what was believed to be almost certain death. While the misfortunes of the Melilla campaign were undermining the position of the Maura Government, a fierce revolt broke out in Barcelona. The commercial capital of Spain has never loved Madrid, and the demand for Catalanian autonomy had grown in strength. Moreover, Barcelona was the centre of the anti-clerical propaganda which is rife in the cities of the Spanish seaboard. A riot grew out of the departure of troops for Melilla, and for several days the city was cut off from the outer

world. Few lives were lost, but a number of monasteries and churches were sacked. The revolt was quelled, martial law was proclaimed, and Ferrer, the founder of popular schools with a secularist atmosphere, was tried by court-martial and shot.

The execution of Ferrer, nominally in consequence of alleged complicity in the revolt of Barcelona, was generally regarded as due to the animosity of the Church. There was an angry explosion of anti-clericalism all over the world, and the prestige of Spain was seriously compromised. When the Chambers met, the Government was fiercely assailed by the parties of the Left. Maura resigned, and the veteran Liberal, Moret, formed a Ministry. Civil rights were restored to Catalonia and the campaign in Morocco was concluded. After troublesome negotiations a treaty was signed by which the Sultan Mulai Hafid agreed to pay an indemnity for the Riff campaign, recognized the right of Spain to hold for seventy-five years the territory she had conquered, and entrusted the policing of the adjoining districts to a Moroccan force under Spanish instructors.

Moret was succeeded in 1910 by Canalejas, who, on the death of Sagasta, had become the leader of a group of independent Radicals, pledged to a bolder handling of Church questions than the main Liberal army cared to adopt. Clericalism had overreached itself under Maura's rule, and the number of monks and nuns, swollen by refugees from the Philippines and France and exempt from nearly all taxation, was recognized to be excessive. Many of them resided in Spain in defiance of the Concordat of 1851, which limited the number of authorized Orders to three. Canalejas determined to put the statute into operation, and at the same time prohibited the establishment of new religious houses,

ordered their registration, and repealed the decree of 1876 forbidding the appearance of any emblem or notification on Protestant places of worship. On his assassination in 1912, Romanones formed a Ministry; but he found it impossible to hold the Liberal Party together, and, in the autumn of 1913, Dato, a moderate Conservative, accepted office. The personal influence of the King was increased by his refusal to recall Maura, by winning the goodwill of moderate Republicans, and by fostering friendly relations with France in Morocco. By 1914 Spain had recovered from the loss of her Empire; industry and commerce were growing apace. On the other hand, the condition of the peasants was deplorable, and no serious attempt was made to remove the scandal of illiteracy.

III

The fortunes of Portugal during the nineteenth century closely resembled those of her neighbour. Both countries suffered from a disputed succession, civil war, greedy politicians, and financial confusion; both saw oversea possessions torn away by conquest or revolution. After half a century of almost ceaseless confusion Portugal entered on a period of comparative tranquillity under Luis, who ascended the throne in 1861, but with the accession of Carlos in 1889 a reign began which witnessed numerous vicissitudes and ended in tragedy. The decline and fall of the House of Braganza, though largely due to the faults of its members, was precipitated by events for which it had no responsibility. A few weeks after the new King came to the throne a revolution in Brazil overthrew the Emperor Pedro II, and established a Republic. Though Portugal's largest colony had declared its independence in 1822, it had

continued to be governed by members of the Royal House. The blow struck in Rio was felt in Lisbon, and the small Republican Party was spurred to further efforts.

In the following year the Monarchy suffered a still more serious rebuff. During the heroic age when Portugal founded an empire in the East she established fortified stations in Africa where her fleets might be repaired and provisioned, and her African possessions remained as mute witnesses of a glorious past. With the partition of the Dark Continent in the last quarter of the nineteenth century they again became of potential importance, and the Portuguese Government claimed enormous areas of territory in the hinterland of their settlements. An award by MacMahon, President of the French Republic, in 1875, deciding that Delagoa Bay belonged to Portugal and not to Great Britain, stimulated her ambition. At the moment when Rhodes was preparing his plans, she claimed a broad belt of land right across Africa, and in 1889 sent a force into the territory between the Zambesi and Lake Nyassa. The British Government protested, and in 1890, after fruitless negotiations, dispatched an ultimatum to our oldest ally. Resistance was out of the question, but the public humiliation of a people which gloried in the epic stanzas of Camoens was passionately resented. A scapegoat was found in the King, who was accused of sacrificing his country to his Anglophile sympathies. When a British squadron visited the capital the tradesmen shut their shops, and Carlos was compelled to refuse the Garter offered by Queen Victoria. The revolution in Brazil and the British ultimatum so weakened the prestige of the Monarchy that the Republicans attempted its overthrow. A rising took place in Oporto in 1891, but most citizens of the second city in the kingdom stood aloof.

Hundreds of conspirators were deported, the Press was gagged, and an era of repression began. The people had little sympathy with the Republicans, but they resented the suppression of their liberties and the unpopularity of the King was intensified.

The thrilling events of the opening years of the reign of Carlos were followed by a period of outward tranquillity, but the decline of the country continued at a rapid rate. The State was plundered by the Regeneradores and the Progressistas, who succeeded one another in office according to the principle of rotativism. The machine of government was clogged with corruption. Despite heavy and increasing taxation every year witnessed a deficit, and in 1892 it was impossible to meet the interest on the external debt. Long negotiations took place with the Council of Foreign Bondholders, and a special board was set up in Lisbon to supervise their interests. Elementary education was made compulsory, but attendance was not enforced. Provision was made for the eventual extinction of hereditary peers, and in 1901 adult male suffrage, subject to the payment of a trifling sum in taxation and ability to read and write, was introduced; yet the control of the people over the Government was in no way increased. The Crown retained its power to veto legislation and to issue decrees, and elections continued to yield whatever result the Government of the day desired.

In 1906 Portuguese politics entered on a new phase when the King invited Franco to form an independent Ministry. His wealth diminished the temptation to dip his hands into the Treasury, and his record was unblemished. Had he kept his promise of an honest and efficient administration, the country might have acquiesced in the temporary suspension of constitutional forms. A few economies were effected and a number of

sinécures abolished, but the pay of the Army and the Civil List were increased. Though his wife, Amelia, a daughter of the Comte de Paris, brought an ample dowry, the King's extravagant tastes made it impossible to live within the limits of his income, and large sums of public money were advanced to the royal family. His debt to the State was assessed at £150,000, which the Minister pretended to discharge by the surrender of a royal yacht and the capitalization of the rent paid by the State for the use of certain royal castles. Before Franco had been many months in office he had succeeded in setting the whole country against himself and his master, but as the opposition developed the King allowed him to assume the powers of a dictator. The Cortes were dissolved in 1907, and the Minister announced that he would rule without them. Political and civil liberty disappeared, and the world looked on, wondering when the crash would come.

In January 1908 the Royal Family left the capital for one of their palaces in the country. The situation in Lisbon was known to be critical, and some small skirmishes took place with the police. At the end of the month Franco announced that he had discovered a conspiracy, and on 31 January he issued a decree empowering the Government to imprison or expel suspects without form of law. On the following day the Royal Family returned, and while driving from the landing stage to the palace were attacked by a band of men who sprang out from an arcade. The King and the Crown Prince were killed on the spot, Prince Manuel was slightly wounded, and the Queen escaped as if by a miracle from the hail of bullets. The mad experiment of personal government had failed, and the Monarchy itself was mortally stricken. Franco fled across the frontier, his decrees were annulled, and a coalition was

formed. For a moment it was hoped that the sounder elements of the nation might rally round the youthful King and inaugurate a better era, but the habits of generations were too deeply ingrained. Manuel was only eighteen, and the ship of State drifted rudderless towards the rapids.

While the dynastic parties were engaged in sterile conflicts the Republicans were maturing their plans. The blow fell in October 1910 when the throne toppled over in a night. A republic was proclaimed, the palace was bombarded by ships in the Tagus, the King fled from the capital, and after a few hours of desultory fighting in the streets the royalist troops were defeated or joined the winning side. The disappearance of the House of Braganza was witnessed without a protest or a sigh. The members of the new Government were honourable men, but they lacked experience. Their ideal was a purely secular democracy. The Monarchy was gone, and they were resolved that its allies, the Church and the Orders, should follow it. Within a few days of the revolution they expelled the Jesuits and other Orders on the strength of obsolete laws, and announced their intention of terminating the connection of Church and State.

A dead calm followed the whirlwind, but it was not long before the waters again began to stir. The working classes, finding that the change had brought them no tangible benefits, broke into strikes. The Pretender, Miguel, announced that as Manuel had been deposed and was unlikely to return, he was ready to accept a call to the throne. To these anxieties were added others of the Government's own making. Their treatment of the Church was needlessly provocative, and the banishment of the judges who acquitted the ex-dictator, Franco, on a charge of treason recalled the worst days of the

Monarchy. The Press was gagged, and the expression of any but Republican opinions vigorously repressed. A series of revolts and invasions only served to display the weakness of the royalist cause, and to strengthen the malign influence of the Carbonarios. The prisons of Lisbon and Oporto were filled with men and women, republican as well as royalist, many of them untried and even uncharged. After a series of weak Ministries, Costa, the brain and will of the revolution of 1908, took office early in 1913 and proved himself an able despot. The Republic had few friends, for the promise of better times had not been fulfilled. Its strength lay in the weakness of its opponents.

CHAPTER IV

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

I

THE main events in the history of Germany during the years following Bismarck's three wars and the proclamation of the Empire at Versailles in 1871 were the struggle with the Catholics, the rise of the Socialist party, the introduction of Protection in 1879, the nationalization of railways, the inauguration of State-aided insurance against sickness and accident, invalidity and old age, and the foundation of colonies in central Africa in 1884. Modestly realizing his own limitations and the almost superhuman genius of his mighty Chancellor, the Emperor William devoted the evening of his life to the supervision of his Army. It was a fitting close to his career that a large increase in the forces should be sanctioned by the Reichstag after an appeal to the country in 1887.

In March 1888 William I died at the age of ninety, but his son was already doomed when he ascended the throne at the age of fifty-seven. The Crown Prince Frederick had won fame in the campaigns which made the Empire, but since 1871 he had fretted in enforced idleness, for his liberalism and the influence of his gifted English wife were not to Bismarck's taste. A disease in the throat, which the German doctors pronounced to be cancer, appeared early in 1887, but, on the advice of an English specialist, the operation which might possibly have prolonged his life was postponed till it was too late. The patient sufferer passed the winter on the Riviera, and when he ascended the throne he could

no longer articulate. He had only ninety-nine days to live, but they were enough to indicate the direction of his thoughts. He conferred high decorations on Jews who had rendered distinguished service to the state, and on Virchow, who was not only an eminent biologist, but a leader of the Radical party in the Reichstag. Of greater importance was the dismissal of Puttkamer, Minister of the Interior, a friend of the Chancellor and a pillar of the reaction. Despite such flickers of illumination, the reign to which Europe had looked forward with hopeful eagerness was but a tragic interlude. Whether he could have imposed his will on Bismarck and partially liberalized the German Empire is doubtful. He was a noble nature, but in no sense a superman.

The new Emperor, William II, who ascended the throne at the age of twenty-nine, had little use for his parents, but he was filled with an almost idolatrous admiration for his grandfather. He had sat at the feet of Bismarck, and his accession was hailed with delight in Conservative and military circles. Whereas the first proclamation of Frederick had been to his people, that of his son was addressed to the Army. The new ruler, indeed, spared no pains to show how little he respected his father's memory or his mother's grief. He decorated Puttkamer and gave him a seat in the Prussian Upper House. When Geffcken published passages from the late Emperor's diary, designed to show that he had played a more prominent part in the foundation of the Empire than was commonly believed, Bismarck denounced the publication as a forgery and the Emperor ordered his Chancellor to report on it. The report, though filled with statements damaging to his father's memory, was published with the ruler's sanction; and when the Court acquitted Geffcken of the charge of

treason, the whole *dossier* prepared by the prosecution was printed. The Chancellor was paying off old scores, but for the Emperor there was no excuse. The grief and anger of his mother were reflected in her letters to Queen Victoria published after the fall of the Hohenzollern Empire.

While William II had no misgivings as to his ability to steer the ship of State, Bismarck believed himself to be more than ever indispensable with a young, impulsive, and inexperienced ruler on the throne. Disagreements both on foreign and domestic policy quickly occurred. When the rigorous anti-Socialist law, passed in 1878 and renewed at intervals, was due to expire in 1890, Bismarck proposed a permanent measure. The Reichstag proved hostile, and when a rumour arose that the Emperor favoured a milder plan, it was rejected. The Chancellor threw cold water on the scheme to summon an International Congress for the discussion of labour problems. The crisis, however, did not arise directly from disagreement on policy. The Emperor insisted on entering into direct relations with his ministers, and when Bismarck quoted a Cabinet Order of 1852, by which all communications were to be made through the Premier, he demanded its repeal. Shortly afterwards William learned that the Chancellor had invited Windthorst, the Catholic leader, for an interview, and asked to be notified when political discussions were to take place. Bismarck tartly replied that he could not permit anyone to decide his visitors for him. Early next morning the ruler arrived at the Chancellor's residence and asked what subjects he had discussed. Bismarck angrily replied that the conversation was private and that he was willing to resign if desired. The following day was a Sunday, and Monday brought a demand for his resignation. The old statesman withdrew

to his home at Friedrichsruh near Hamburg, where he spent his time grumbling at the Emperor and dictating his *Reflections and Reminiscences*. The method of his dismissal was harsh, but no one could have expected an ambitious young Hohenzollern to play the part of a *roi fainéant*.

William II began to reign in 1888 and to govern in 1890, when he dropped the old pilot. He announced with a flourish of trumpets that he would brook neither competition nor opposition. 'There is only one master in this country, and I am he. I shall suffer no other beside me.' 'I see in the people and the land which have descended to me a talent entrusted to me by God which it is my duty to increase. Those who will help me I heartily welcome; those who oppose me I shall dash in pieces.' He declared that he was responsible for his actions to God and his conscience alone. Though in some ways the most gifted of the Hohenzollerns since Frederick the Great, he was unequal to the part of universal arbiter in politics and religion, literature and art. His ideals of personal government and divine right were out of date. His people laughed at his claims and eccentricities, and an audacious Bavarian professor compared him to Caligula in a brochure which enjoyed an enormous sale. No one took him so seriously as he took himself.

The new régime witnessed important changes in high policy. Bismarck had won for his country the hegemony of Europe and resolved to avoid whatever might endanger it. He clung to Russia, even after the conclusion of the Triple Alliance, and gave her a free hand in the Near East. William II, on the other hand, entered freely into competition for influence in Turkey. While Bismarck felt no enthusiasm for a colonial empire, William announced himself a zealous adherent of imperialism. Of still greater significance was the ambition

to do for the Navy what his grandfather had done for the Army. His famous formula, 'Our future lies on the water', opened a new and challenging chapter of German history.

Bismarck's inexperienced successor, General Caprivi, loyally carried out the orders of his master, but his difficulties were increased by sharp-shooting from Friedrichsruh. 'I cannot lie down like a hibernating bear', groaned the fallen superman. He sneered at the academic debates of the International Labour Congress, prophesied revolution when the anti-Socialist law was allowed to lapse, declared the acquisition of Heligoland too dearly purchased by the surrender of Zanzibar, pronounced the Franco-Russian alliance the consequence of blundering diplomacy, and encouraged opposition to the conclusion of commercial treaties. William retaliated by decorating Bismarck's enemies and by persuading the Austrian Court to boycott him when he journeyed to Vienna for the marriage of his son Herbert. The conflict inflicted such damage on the Empire that influential mediators came forward. In 1893 the Emperor held out an olive-branch which was repulsed, but in 1894 a nominal reconciliation was staged; Bismarck was invited to Berlin, and the Emperor returned the visit at Friedrichsruh. For the four remaining years of the ex-Chancellor's life the semblance of friendliness was preserved, but the humiliation of 1890 was never forgiven.

During Caprivi's tenure of office the Army was increased in 1890 and again, after an appeal to the country, in 1893, the period of service being reduced to two years. The income from the royal property of the deposed King of Hanover, known as the Guelf Fund, which Bismarck had employed to influence the Press, was restored to the Duke of Cumberland, who had made his home in

Austria. But the main achievement was the conclusion of commercial treaties with Austria, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland in 1891, and with Russia, after a tariff war, in 1894. The hostility of the Agrarians to the Russian treaty made Caprivi's position untenable. His successor was Prince Hohenlohe, a liberal Catholic, who had been Prime Minister of Bavaria before 1870, Ambassador in Paris, and Governor of Alsace-Lorraine. His prestige and experience secured him more personal consideration from the Emperor, who called him Uncle Chlodwig; but as he was seventy-five and cared little for power, his influence was limited.

The lapse of the anti-Socialist law and the summoning of the International Labour Congress in 1890 raised hopes of better relations between the Crown and the working classes, but the expectation was disappointed. The Socialists, who had three seats in the Reichstag of 1871, thirty-five in that of 1890, and forty-four in that of 1893, increased their poll at every election. An annual Congress met for the first time in 1890, and in 1891 the Erfurt Programme was elaborated. The Emperor watched their rapid growth with dismay, and spoke bitterly of the 'traitorous rabble'. Disappointed by the results of his policy of conciliation, he determined to revive coercion, but in 1895 the Reichstag rejected a measure punishing with imprisonment attacks on religion, the monarchy, property, and the family. A dissolution would have been useless, and William was forced to content himself with rhetorical abuse. For protesting against one of these tirades, Liebknecht, the leader of the party, was imprisoned for treason. The battle continued, and on Liebknecht's death Bebel became the most formidable critic of the system of personal rule; for the *bourgeoisie* was inclined to leave politics to the Government.

The main task of the middle years of the reign was to emphasize the role of Germany as a world Power by the construction of a fleet and the acquisition of new colonies and spheres of influence. Heligoland provided a naval base near the mouth of the Elbe, and the Kiel Canal was completed in 1895. A few warships were built in the first decade of the reign, and in 1897, when Admiral Tirpitz was appointed Minister of Marine, a programme of construction to be carried out by 1904 was approved. The increase of the Navy was explained by the rapid development of commerce and the growth of the mercantile marine, but its main purpose was to enable the Fatherland to play a leading part in *Welt-politik*. With the exception of the Socialists and the small group of Radicals, every party welcomed the entry of Germany into the ranks of naval Powers, and the Navy League, which enjoyed Imperial patronage, obtained a substantial membership. A far more ambitious programme was authorized in 1900, fixing the ultimate strength at thirty-eight battleships, fourteen large and thirty-eight small cruisers, to be completed in 1917. A law of 1906 increased the number of large cruisers by six, and in 1908 the life of battleships was shortened from twenty-five to twenty years, necessitating the construction of four annually in place of three during the years 1908-11. A new and disturbing factor had come into the life of Europe.

Without waiting for the construction of a fleet, the Emperor began to assert his power. In 1895 he joined France and Russia in ordering Japan to disgorge her conquests on the Chinese mainland. In 1897 he compelled China to lease Kiao-Chou in expiation of the murder of German missionaries, and dispatched a squadron under his sailor brother, Prince Henry, to take possession of it. In 1899 he secured a new

foothold in the Pacific by the purchase of the Caroline Islands from Spain. In 1900, at the time of the Boxer movement, he persuaded the Powers to place Waldersee at the head of the international force which marched to relieve the beleaguered Legations of Peking. In the Near East German influence increased no less rapidly. While Europe shuddered at the Armenian atrocities the Emperor flaunted his friendliness for the Great Assassin. On his spectacular journey to Constantinople and Palestine in 1898 he proclaimed himself the protector of Moslems throughout the world; and the concession to a German company of the right to continue the Anatolian railway to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf represented the high-water mark of Turkish complaisance.

The octogenarian Hohenlohe resigned in 1900 and was succeeded by Bülow, who had been Foreign Secretary since 1897. Though his training had been exclusively in diplomacy, he was an admirable speaker and displayed considerable skill in driving the Parliamentary team. The first domestic conflict arose in 1902 on the introduction of a new tariff, raising the duty on corn and meat after the expiration of Caprivi's treaties. The parties of the Left, resting on the vote of the towns, vigorously opposed the change, which was finally carried by closure in a form even more favourable to the agrarian interest than on its introduction. The unpopularity of the new tariff was shown in the election of 1903, when the Socialists increased their poll to 3 millions and their seats from fifty-eight to eighty-one; for the industrialization of the country was proceeding apace.

The second Parliamentary battle was in reference to the Colonies. A revolt broke out in German Southwest Africa which proved unexpectedly difficult to re-

press, and tales of misconduct poured in. The Centre Party, rendered critical by the reports of Catholic missionaries, denounced the administration of the officials, and in 1905 combined with the Socialists to reject the estimates for a colonial railway. The Reichstag was dissolved, Bülow declared war on the Centre and the Socialists, and Dernburg, the Colonial Minister, opened a speaking campaign in the great cities, painting the future of the Colonies in glowing colours. The Socialists fell to forty-three, though they increased their poll by 250,000, but the Centre returned in undiminished strength. The Chancellor appealed to the Conservatives, National Liberals, and Radicals to sink their differences. A *bloc* was formed, but it was too artificial to last. When, in 1909, despite the issue of loans, new taxation was necessitated, the Conservatives rebelled against the proposed death duties. The Chancellor resigned after the passage of the Budget in a modified form, and was succeeded by the Home Secretary, Bethmann Hollweg, an experienced official without knowledge of foreign affairs.

While the occasion of Bülow's resignation was the revolt of the Conservatives, the real cause was different. Throughout the reign the Emperor's impulsive speeches and telegrams had caused anxiety, and in 1908 an utterance appeared which stirred Europe more than any action since the provocative telegram to Kruger in 1896. A long interview appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*, containing unguarded declarations on his own and his people's feelings towards England and other countries. When the Reichstag met, the party leaders declared that such indiscretions must cease. The Chancellor communicated something like a promise from his master to refrain from such interventions, and added that neither he nor any future Chancellor could hold office

if they continued. On the publication of the interview he had offered his resignation, but his master had pressed him to retain office at any rate till the new taxes were passed. For the next eighteen months the ruler abstained from the expression of his personal views. He was badly shaken by the volley of criticism and for a brief space talked of abdication. But his resentment was concentrated on Bülow, to whom he had sent the document as in duty bound, and who declared that, owing to pressure of work, he had not read it. Whether the statement was a lie, as was generally believed, or whether he neglected his plain duty, he was never forgiven.

Every unit of the German Empire led a life of its own in addition to sharing the fortunes of the federation. The adoption of a common code of law in 1900 was dictated by practical utility, but the smaller states were always on their guard against encroachments by the predominant partner. Even in Prussia resistance to the royal will was not unknown. In 1892 a Bill increasing the influence of the clergy in the schools had to be withdrawn. In 1899 a still more damaging blow was struck. The Government proposed to construct a canal joining the Rhine and the Elbe, but the Conservatives, believing that it would lower the price of corn and meat, rejected the Bill despite the threats of their indignant ruler. The leaders of the revolt were promptly dismissed from their posts at Court and in the local administration; but when the Bill was reintroduced in 1901 the hostility was as great as ever, and a second defeat was averted by the withdrawal of the measure.

The most burning question of Prussian politics was that of the franchise, the narrowest in any part of the Empire. The Constitution of 1850 established indirect election, and divided voters into three classes according

to their income. Thus, while the Socialists polled by far the largest number of votes, they were without representation in the Landtag till 1908, when they secured seven seats out of nearly 400. Such a parody of representative government could only be maintained by force. A Bill introducing the ballot but retaining the three-class system in a modified form was passed by the Landtag in 1910, but as it satisfied neither the Right nor the Left it was withdrawn.

A second grave problem was that of the Poles. The tyrannical attempt to Germanize the Polish districts by allowing only German in the elementary schools was defeated by the determination of the people to maintain their language and by the rapid increase in population. In 1906 popular resentment flared up. The children declined to answer questions in German and finally refused to attend school. The Government punished the school strikes by fines, expulsions, and imprisonment, but the sullen opposition remained. A second line of attack had begun in 1886, when Bismarck embarked on an extensive plan of colonization, and the policy of subsidized settlements was continued by his successors. Exasperated by its failure the Government carried an Expropriation Bill in 1908, empowering the Land Commission to buy what it needed at its own price. Nowhere was the regimentation of a racial minority more systematically pursued, nor more entirely without effect.

The failure to reconcile the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine to their change of masters in 1871 was equally conspicuous. The results of successive Reichstag elections indicated a slight diminution of hostility. A Constitution was granted to the Reichsland in 1911 and the sending of delegates to the Bundesrat allowed, though even now it was not promoted to the status of a federal

member of the Empire. That the improvement of relations was only superficial was realized when an incident between a young lieutenant and a Zabern civilian led to angry debates in the Reichstag and attracted the attention of the world. That the Rhine provinces were held by the sword was clearer than ever, and the Army spokesmen made no attempt to conceal it. The celebration of the centenary of the Battle of Leipzig and a large increase in the Army proclaimed the pride of a great nation and its readiness to face all eventualities.

II

The expulsion of the House of Hapsburg from the German Confederation and from Italy in the war of 1866 was followed by far-reaching internal changes in the polyglot Empire. Hungarian autonomy was revived by the *Ausgleich* (Compromise) in 1867, and parliamentary institutions were granted to Austria. For some years the German Liberals were in office, but in 1879 Taaffe, a friend of the Emperor Francis Joseph from childhood, became Prime Minister and held office till 1893. It was his wish no less than that of his master to lead a team representing all races and parties; and though the Germans resented their diminished influence, the Government was strengthened by the support of the Czechs, who had hitherto refused to take their seats in the Reichsrat. A Czech University was founded at Prague and Czech received recognition for official purposes, while the support of the Polish nobles of Galicia was obtained by allowing them to deal with the Ruthenian peasantry more or less as they liked. Such a system could not last for ever. In Bohemia the Old Czechs, who represented the nobility, were gradually displaced by the Young Czechs, who opposed the

conservative and clerical policy of Taaffe, and demanded that the Emperor should be crowned King of Bohemia. When Taaffe dissolved the Reichsrat in 1891 the Young Czechs captured every Czech seat.

The nationalities continued their bickerings, but the main interest was transferred to electoral reform. The demand for universal suffrage was supported by the Socialists, the new anti-Semitic party of Christian Socialism, the Young Czechs, and the German Nationalists. Taaffe had realized the necessity of enfranchising the working classes, but had been forced to withdraw a far-reaching scheme. In 1896 a timid measure was passed, adding a fifth class or Curia of voters by universal suffrage, in which citizens over twenty-four, whether entitled to vote in the existing Curiae or not, were included. To the new class, which comprised $5\frac{1}{2}$ million voters, were allotted seventy-two seats, while the remaining 353 members were elected by less than 2 million voters. Such a half-hearted reform, instead of solving the problem, made it certain that it would shortly be reopened.

The Reichsrat elected in 1897 showed that the new voters only increased the confusion of parties. Fourteen Socialists made their appearance, and the Chamber included twenty-four groups. Badeni, a Polish magnate from Galicia, who had passed the Franchise Bill, required a majority to renew the decennial arrangement with Hungary. To obtain it he bought the Czechs by the Language Ordinances, which threw Austrian politics into confusion for a decade, for proficiency in Czech and German was required from virtually every Government official in Bohemia. The decrees only went a little beyond those of Taaffe, but the resistance of the Germans was now far more vigorous. Their obstruction brought the Parliamentary machine to a standstill,

and Badeni resigned. Two short-lived Ministries followed, Budgets were promulgated by decree, and the renewal of the Compromise with Hungary was provisionally adopted. When a third Ministry dropped the Badeni decrees, the Czechs borrowed the obstructionist tactics of their opponents. The political pandemonium suggested new methods to the Emperor, who in 1900 chose Körber, an experienced official, to conciliate the racial factions by a comprehensive programme of public works. But the Czechs continued to obstruct, and a new element of discord was introduced after the election of 1901 by the appearance of a noisy Pan-German and *Los von Rom* group.

After a gallant struggle Körber was forced to resign in 1904. By this time it was obvious that the racial conflict could only be mitigated, if at all, by an extension of the franchise. Early in 1906 Gautsch, his successor, introduced a Bill which became law early in 1907. The five electoral classes were swept away, the franchise was granted to men over twenty-four, and constituencies were made as nearly as possible racially homogeneous. The Germans obtained a larger and the Czechs and Ruthenes a smaller number of seats than their numbers warranted, but such inequalities were tolerated for the sake of manhood franchise. The Reform Bill carried with it two great changes. Firstly, the Chamber was no longer divided almost exclusively on racial lines. The two strongest parties, the Christian Socialists and the Social Democrats, represented interests transcending racial frontiers, while the Pan-Germans almost disappeared. Secondly, the Emperor was compelled to buy the assent of the Upper House to the measure by surrendering his right to override opposition by an unlimited creation of peers. On the whole universal suffrage justified the very modest ex-

pectations of the old Emperor, who mournfully reminded an optimistic Minister that in Austria nothing ever went well. The feud of Germans and Czechs in Bohemia, of Poles and Ruthenes in Galicia, of Germans and Italians in the Tyrol continued; and speculation waxed as to the possibility of the ramshackle empire going to pieces after the death of its venerable ruler. Meanwhile his nephew Francis Ferdinand waited with unconcealed impatience for his chance of reorganizing the whole structure on federal lines.

Hungary was punished for its revolt in 1848 by twenty years of despotic rule from Vienna, but the military disasters of 1866 determined the Emperor to seek a reconciliation. Full autonomy was restored, and Francis Joseph was crowned King at Budapest. The two halves of the Dual Monarchy were connected by the Emperor-King, by common Ministers of Foreign Affairs, War, and Finance, and by the Delegations which met alternately in the two capitals. Though Kossuth, the hero of the rebellion of 1848-9, remained in Italy in exile till his death, the majority of the Hungarians gladly accepted an arrangement which not only restored their national life, but gave them an equal share in controlling the destinies of the realm. The Emperor, who paid frequent visits to Budapest, enjoyed more respect than affection; but his beautiful Bavarian wife loved the country and its chivalrous people, and was rewarded by a popularity such as she never won or sought in the frosty atmosphere of Vienna.

With the retirement of Deak and Andrassy, the architects of the Compromise of 1867, their party crumbled to pieces, and in 1875 Coloman Tisza, the leader of the Left, became Premier. He remained the virtual dictator of Hungary for fifteen years, and an important change in the Constitution was effected in 1885. The Great

Nobles had for centuries possessed the right to attend Parliament in person, though most of them seldom appeared. The right of hereditary peers to a seat in the House of Magnates was limited to members who paid £250 a year in land taxes, a drastic step which reduced the members from about 800 to 250. At the same time life members, high officials, and representatives of the Churches were introduced. Despite these changes the Magyar landed aristocracy remained supreme in the Upper Chamber. The Lower House was dominated by the gentry, or smaller landlords, for the vote of landless agricultural labourers was nullified by the absence of the ballot. Hungary remained a feudal state governed by the Magyar minority.

Deak and Eötvös had desired to assimilate the non-Magyar races in Hungary—Slovaks in the north-west, Ruthenes on the southern slopes of the Carpathians, Roumanians in Transylvania, Serbs in the south, Croats in Croatia—by the attraction of a superior culture, and guaranteed them certain rights by the Law of Nationalities of 1868. Cynically disregarding their charter Tisza made Magyar the sole medium of instruction in State secondary schools, closed the schools of other races, and declared that there was 'no Slovak nation'. The high franchise excluded the other races from a share in power, and ruthless pressure was exerted by the Government at elections. Cultural no less than political movements among Slovaks and Roumanians were suppressed, and constant friction arose with Croatia, despite its partial autonomy. The Magyars regarded themselves as the dominating race, and they were determined to keep their power.

Tisza fell in 1890, and in 1892 Wekerle, the leader of the Left, became Premier. His accession to office was the signal for fierce political conflict. Mixed

marriages were frequent, and the law declared that the children were to be brought up in the communion of the parent whose sex they inherited. The priests insisted on baptizing all the children of mixed marriages and entering their names as Catholics in the parish register. To meet this illegal encroachment registration was taken out of their hands, and Wekerle determined to introduce compulsory civil marriage. The Bill passed the Lower House with a large majority, but was rejected by the Magnates, most of whom were Catholics. When the Lower House passed it again, Wekerle begged the King to create peers. Francis Joseph, who disliked the measure, refused, and Wekerle resigned. No one, however, was able to form a Ministry and he was recalled. The Bill was accepted, and the predominance of the Lower House over the Magnates and the Crown was established. His successor, Banffy, carried Bills through the Lower House sanctioning the Jewish religion and establishing freedom of worship, which were in turn rejected or mutilated by the Magnates; but when they were sent up a second time the Peers surrendered.

The Compromise of 1867 gave Hungary equality in the Dual Monarchy, but as she became stronger the demand for greater independence arose. In 1889 'The Imperial Army' became 'The Imperial and Royal Army'. When the Compromise fell to be renewed in 1897 she obtained an increased influence over the joint Bank and a larger share of the common Customs receipts, but Banffy agreed that the new arrangements should remain in force till they were cancelled by legislation. The Kossuthists, who desired a merely dynastic union with Austria, protested against the concession, and Banffy fell.

The tendency towards greater independence now manifested itself even more strongly. The Kossuthists

claimed a national army, while the Emperor-King stood for an undivided force. After controversies which brought two Ministries to the ground, Stephen Tisza, the son of Coloman Tisza and a greater man than his father, took office with authority to grant certain concessions. Hungarian flags and banners were to be employed, and the command of Hungarian regiments was to be entrusted exclusively to Hungarian officers, but German was to remain the common language for the words of command. The Opposition was dissatisfied, and the Ministry was weakened by the hostility of Apponyi, who left the Liberal Party when Tisza took office, and of Julius Andrassy, the son of Deak's colleague. An attempt to alter the rules of the House led to violent scenes. When Parliament was dissolved in 1905 Tisza was routed, and the parties of Independence, which rejected or disliked the Compromise of 1867, obtained a sweeping victory. The Coalition demanded concessions which Francis Joseph refused to grant, and after months of negotiation Fejervary, an intimate friend of the Emperor-King, took office without a majority. The Opposition, conscious of its parliamentary strength, stood firm. It was at this moment and in order to break its serried ranks that Kristoffy, the Minister of the Interior, proposed an extension of the suffrage. A compromise was at last reached. Wekerle took office, supported by Francis Kossuth, a son of the hero, Apponyi and Andrassy, and changes in the Army were postponed till universal suffrage had been introduced.

The rule of the Coalition, though restoring constitutional government, brought little satisfaction to the country. The Croats declared that the promises of better treatment had not been fulfilled, and the Croatian Constitution was suspended. The Ministry proposed to neutralize the effects of universal suffrage on Magyar

domination by plural voting and the rigging of electoral divisions. Such a scheme was no honest redemption of the pledge with which they had taken office. The Ministry was discredited by corruption, feuds broke out between its groups, and in 1910 it resigned. Heder-vary, a henchman of the Emperor-King, took office, dissolved Parliament, and by unblushing pressure routed the Coalition. Stephen Tisza, the strong man of Hungary, returned to power and ruled the country with a rod of iron till the coming of the war. Secure in the support of Francis Joseph, he turned a deaf ear to the appeals from the non-Magyar elements within the Kingdom, thereby unwittingly strengthening the demand for fundamental changes in the structure of the Empire.

Alone of the Great Powers Austria-Hungary possessed and desired no colonies; but Bosnia and Herzegovina, the administration of which was entrusted to the Dual Monarchy by the Berlin Treaty of 1878, were governed through a common Finance Minister. Kallay, an able Hungarian noble, who ruled for twenty years, established order and introduced the material side of civilization into the provinces which remained under the suzerainty of the Sultan till they were formally annexed in 1908. Yet little attempt was made to win the allegiance of the population, the Slav elements of which looked to Belgrade rather than to Vienna as their spiritual home, and dreamed of a united Yugoslav State under Russian patronage.

CHAPTER V

RUSSIA AND THE BALKANS

I

WHEN Alexander III ascended the Russian throne in 1881 he was urged to issue the Ukase for an Assembly of Notables which Alexander II had signed on the morning of his assassination by the Nihilists. But the new Tsar preferred the principles of Pobiedonostseff, Procurator (lay head) of the Holy Synod, and of Katkoff, the influential Editor of the *Moscow Gazette*, who taught that the principles of autocracy and orthodoxy alone could save Russia from the scepticism and anarchy of the west. Alexander, who was happily married to Princess Dagmar of Denmark, sister of Queen Alexandra and King George of Greece, lacked his father's intelligence and personal charm, and he inherited none of the generous impulses which had led to the emancipation of the serfs and the establishment of *zemstvos* (county councils). The Court lived in impenetrable seclusion and the government was run by reactionary bureaucrats. Nihilists were executed or banished whenever they were caught, and in 1888 the American traveller Kennan revealed to the world the horrors of Siberian prisons. The Press was muzzled, the privileges of university students were curtailed, and the power of the *zemstvos* was severely limited.

Russia was in the grip of a deadly obscurantism, and the *intelligentsia* either threw themselves into Socialism or looked on in dumb despair. Homogeneity was sought at all costs. The Protestant Stundists of the south were mercilessly harried; yet no sect or race suffered so much

as the Jews, who were confined to the towns of the west, excluded from a share in local government, and forbidden to hold property outside the towns or engage in agriculture. It is more than a coincidence that it was during this reign that Tolstoy began to preach the wickedness of all coercion. It was also a time of acute suffering, and in 1891-3 a large part of the country was faced with starvation. In the eyes of the Western world the ruler's only service to his country was the maintenance of peace.

The accession of Nicholas II in 1894 at the age of twenty-six aroused vain hopes of a change of system. Several *zemstvos* who begged that their representatives might be invited to assist in the drafting of laws were snubbed for their pains. The Tsar declared his intention of maintaining the principles of autocracy inviolate, and dismissed the claims to share in the administration as 'senseless dreams'. Yet forces were at work which in time were bound to ruffle the stagnant waters. In 1892 Witte, who had won his spurs as Director of Railways, became Minister of Finance. His ambition was to develop—it might almost be said to create—Russian industry, for the primitive system of agriculture alone could never make the vast country prosperous and militarily strong. He improved credit by establishing a fixed value for the rouble and increasing the gold reserve. He extended State monopolies, buying up private railways and making new State lines. The highest tariff in Europe secured the home market to Russian manufacturers. In 1894 he established a lucrative Government monopoly of the sale of spirits. The construction of the Siberian Railway facilitated migration across the Ural Mountains to the cities which sprang up along the line to Lake Baikal.

Witte approached his work rather from the standpoint

of a man of business than a politician. Alarmed by the discovery that less grain was being sown and that the consumption of bread was declining, he established in 1902 a commission to assist agriculture, which appointed committees representing the localities. Many of these bodies went beyond the original purpose of their institution, and demanded freedom of the Press and representative institutions. They were condemned by Pobiedonostseff, and in 1903 Witte was dismissed from the Ministry of Finance after eleven years of memorable endeavour. The timid Tsar was scared by the spread of Socialism, the strikes among the rapidly increasing factory workers, the unrest in the universities, and the growing audacity of the Press. Though Witte was never reckoned a Liberal, he was too conscious of the faults of autocratic government to be entrusted with its defence. On his fall Plehve, the reactionary Minister of the Interior, became virtual dictator. A ferocious attack on the Jews, condoned if not originated by the Government, occurred in 1903 at Kishineff in Bessarabia, and was followed by other organized pogroms.

The Japanese War of 1904-5 overthrew the system of Plehve as the Crimean War had destroyed the rigid system of Nicholas I. Indignation was aroused by the discovery of unblushing speculation and shameful incompetence in high places both at the base and the front. Even the co-operation of the *zemstsvos* in the organization of relief was rebuked by the Minister, and his assassination in July 1904 was hailed with delight. After deliberating for a month the Tsar appointed Prince Mirski, one of the most enlightened administrators in the Empire. The new Minister's first step was to ask for the confidence of the public, and a conference of members of *zemstsvos* showed itself at once moderate and determined. Revolutionaries there were

in Russia, but there were also plenty of patriotic and experienced men longing to serve and save the State. They demanded inviolability of the person, freedom of conscience, speech, meeting, association, and instruction, the abolition of exceptional laws, amnesty for political prisoners, and an elected national assembly which the majority desired to possess legislative powers and which all agreed should control finance. The Court was torn asunder by conflicting counsels. An edict promising a wider franchise and larger powers for local bodies was followed by a denunciation of the claims of the reformers as incompatible with the fundamental laws of the country. A strict censorship was revived and the tide of reform began to ebb.

In the early days of 1905 an event occurred which opened a deep chasm between the Sovereign and the reformers. While a salute was being fired a shot fell close to the Tsar. He left the capital, and when, three days later, Father Gapon headed a gigantic deputation of strikers and their families to the Winter Palace, the unarmed crowds were mown down by fire from the troops. Mirski was dismissed, General Tropoff became dictator of St. Petersburg, and 'Bloody Sunday' was followed by a fierce struggle throughout the country. The peasantry attacked the manor-houses, police officers were assassinated, and the Tsar's uncle, the Grand Duke Serge, was murdered in Moscow. The wiser heads at Court recognized that the situation called for concessions, and in March the Tsar declared his intention of summoning an elective assembly. Reforms affecting the Dissenters, the Jews, and the nationalities were promulgated, and the censorship of the Press once more lapsed. A great Congress of *zemstvo* leaders at Moscow demanded the immediate convocation of a National Assembly. In August a decree announced the establishment

of a consultative Duma, chosen by indirect election. In October the Tsar felt himself compelled to dismiss Pobiedonostseff and Trepoff, and to recall Witte with the status of a Prime Minister. The first-fruits of the change appeared in the Manifesto of 30 October, which promised freedom of conscience, speech, meeting, and association, a wide franchise, a veto on legislation, and effective control over the acts of officials. The Manifesto satisfied the conservative reformers who followed Shipoff, the head of the Moscow *zemstvos*, and who were henceforth known as Octobrists.

On his return to office Witte invited Shipoff to join the Ministry. He consented on condition that the Constitutional Democrats, popularly known as the Cadets, who followed the distinguished historian, Professor Miliukoff, were included. Witte was willing, but the radical demands of the Cadets challenged the prerogatives of the Tsar and another storm burst over the land. Mutinies broke out in the Army and the Fleet, and a revolt in Moscow was savagely repressed. Again the Government spoke with two voices. Durnovo, the Minister of the Interior, encouraged brutal reprisals, while incitements to riot were printed in the Government offices and circulated by the fanatical Union of the Russian People, commonly known as the Black Hundreds. From the other camp Witte issued a decree conceding something like universal suffrage. When the elections took place in the spring of 1906 the reformers obtained an overwhelming majority. The largest party in the Duma was that of the Cadets; the newly formed Labour Group, representing the peasantry, came next; the Octobrists numbered about fifty, and the Extreme Right was scarcely represented. Witte was succeeded in the premiership by Goremykin, an elderly official, but the leading spirit of the new Ministry was Stolypin

a strong man of high character who had won his spurs in provincial administration.

In reply to the speech from the Throne the Duma boldly demanded control over the executive, carried a vote of censure on the Ministry, sent a commission to report on the latest pogrom, and introduced a Land Bill incorporating the Labour Party's principle of expropriation. The Tsar again invited the leader of the Octobrists to form a Ministry, and Shipoff again insisted on including the Cadets; but the Cadets refused to join a Coalition Ministry. It was now a choice between Miliukoff and a dissolution. The Tsar chose the latter, appointed Stolypin Premier, and dissolved the Duma after a session of three months. The Cadets and Labour leaders hurried across the Finnish frontier to Viborg, whence they issued a manifesto calling on the nation neither to pay taxes nor supply recruits till the Duma was restored.

The Viborg Manifesto was a tactical blunder, and Stolypin set to work to strengthen the position of the Government. Field courts-martial were instituted to punish terrorists and suspects, thousands were banished without trial, and the prisons were crowded; yet despite wholesale intimidation, the elections to the second Duma, held early in 1907, gave almost the same result as in the first. The Cadets again dominated the assembly, and this time their main endeavour was to avoid a pretext for dissolution. Moderate tactics, however, succeeded no better than the previous challenge. The Socialists were charged with conspiracy, Stolypin demanded their exclusion, and the Duma appointed a committee to examine the evidence; but without waiting for the report the Government dissolved the assembly.

Reaction now ruled unchecked. The Socialists were

tried behind closed doors and packed off to Siberia, the signatories of the Viborg Manifesto were sentenced to imprisonment, hundreds were executed for offences committed two or three years before, and scoundrels convicted of organizing pogroms were pardoned by the Tsar. On the other side murders of officials and police were of constant occurrence. A restricted franchise had been announced after the dissolution of the second Duma, and the elections for the third were held in the autumn of 1907. The new House was chiefly composed of landowners, and the largest party was the Octobrists, whose leader, Guchkoff, dominated the third Duma as Miliukoff had dominated its predecessors. Stolypin had at last procured the tame assembly that he sought. Record harvests in 1909 and 1910 at last balanced the Budget and gave new confidence to agriculture. The Premier's main legislative effort was to enable the peasant to become owner of his land. The law of 1910 gave him the right to claim his holding in individual possession and in a single plot, and empowered the Commune to substitute private for communal ownership. By this far-reaching change the historic *Mir* received its deathblow. Private property, it was believed, would be a bulwark against revolution.

In addition to the internal movement for reform, the Stolypin Government was increasingly occupied with the outlying nationalities. On acquiring Finland from Sweden in 1809 Alexander I guaranteed its constitutional rights, which were confirmed by all his successors; affairs of State were controlled by the Diet and Senate; the conditions of military service were light, and the Army remained within the limits of the country. While Russia ranked among the most backward and illiterate of European states, Finland presented a spectacle of liberty, culture, and growing prosperity. Towards the

end of the reign of Alexander III encroachment on her autonomy began to be made, and with the appointment of Bobrikoff as Governor-General in 1898 a systematic attack was launched. In 1899 the Diet was invited to make Finland a military district of Russia. The Finns, while agreeing to increase their Army, rejected the proposal to merge it, but the change was forced through. In the same year it was announced that Finnish Bills need only be submitted to the Diet if they concerned Finland alone. The postal system was amalgamated with that of Russia, the censorship was tightened, and Russian police were introduced. These steps were at first met by passive resistance, but in 1904 the hated Bobrikoff was assassinated. When a national strike broke out in 1905 the Tsar promised to restore Finnish liberties and to grant universal suffrage. The new Diet met in 1907 but was dissolved in 1908. Stolypin transferred the control of all matters which concerned the whole Empire to the Russian Ministry, and abrogated the right of the Secretary for Finland to report to the Tsar. By these and further measures passed in 1910 the independence of the Grand Duchy was gravely infringed, though not wholly destroyed. Finns and Swedes, Conservatives and Socialists, united in defence of their constitutional rights, but Russia and her legions were too strong to resist.

The attack on Polish autonomy began after the insurrection of 1863, and the whole country was ruthlessly Russianized. Though the Poles are zealous Catholics, a Russian Cathedral was erected in the largest square of the capital. Socialism sprouted in Warsaw, Lodz and other cities with the industrial development of the last two decades of the century, and after 1901 the leading parties combined in an attempt to obtain such a measure of autonomy as Galicia enjoyed under Austria.

In the first two Dumas the Poles worked with the Cadets and the Labour group, but though reformers of all schools urged the importance of a contented Poland, there were too many bitter memories on both sides for a genuine *détente*.

The Baltic provinces—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania—were subjected in like manner to the steam-roller policy under the last two Tsars. In 1885 Russian became the official language. Place names were changed, the German University of Dorpat was Russianized, the prevailing Lutheranism frowned on, local self-government swept away, the Press placed under Russian censorship. Concerted opposition was impossible, for the nobles and commercial class were largely German. When the years of confusion began in 1905, the Letts struck at the German landowners, the so-called Baltic Barons, no less than at the Russian Government; but the movement was drowned in blood. Nicholas II proved himself as incapable of conciliating the outlying races as of reforming his government and contenting his purely Russian subjects.

II

The Treaty of Berlin, while diminishing the possessions of the Sultan in the Balkan Peninsula, left abundant material for future disturbance, and the history of the following years is the record of the attempts of his Christian subjects to complete their emancipation. The first step was taken in 1885. The Treaty of San Stefano between Russia and Turkey had given Bulgaria the major part of Macedonia, but the Berlin Congress tore it up, confined her to the north of the Balkan range, and replaced Eastern Roumelia under the Sultan with a Constitution and a Governor-General. The desire for union

between north and south, however, proved stronger than treaties. The Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia was seized, and Prince Alexander of Battenberg, the first ruler of Bulgaria, marched in to Philippopolis. The Sultan protested and the Tsar recalled his officers, but when Salisbury approved the union the danger of war passed away. On the other hand, the bloodless triumph of Bulgaria whetted the appetite of Servia. Prince Milan, of the House of Obrenovich, assumed the royal title in 1882, but he was never popular, and the Karageorgevich Pretender was waiting his opportunity. In the hope of strengthening his throne Milan declared war against Bulgaria, but though the Bulgarian Army was weakened by the withdrawal of the Russian officers who had trained it, Alexander led his troops to victory at Slivnitsa. When the road to Belgrade lay open, Austria stopped his advance by an ultimatum. The struggle was over in a fortnight.

Bulgaria had won a province and a battle, but her gallant ruler paid dearly for his triumphs. Some pro-Russian officers invaded the palace at night, compelled him to abdicate, and hurried him over the border into Russian territory. A Provisional Government was formed, but Stambuloff, the leader of the anti-Russian party, appealed to national sentiment, dissolved the Government, and invited the Prince to return. A fortnight later Alexander, who had been released by order of the Tsar, re-entered Sofia, but he had lost his nerve. He telegraphed a submissive message to St. Petersburg, and, on the arrival of an unfriendly reply, abdicated and left the country for ever. For six months the Bulgarian throne was in the market, and when Ferdinand, a younger son of the Prince of Saxe-Coburg and a grandson of Louis Philippe, was chosen, the Tsar refused recognition. The new Prince, though lacking the

military instincts and popular gifts of his predecessor, was a calculating diplomatist, but the real ruler of Bulgaria was the dynamic Stambuloff. Though his policy was generally supported by the country, the ambitious Prince regarded it with less favour. His marriage in 1893 and the birth of an heir increased his desire for Russian approval. Stambuloff was forced to resign, and in 1895 he was murdered in the streets of Sofia. In 1896 the baby Prince Boris was converted to the Greek Church, and Ferdinand was recognized at St. Petersburg. The sophisticated autocrat despised his backward subjects, and the main interest of his reign of thirty years lies in the field of foreign affairs, where he kept the reins tightly in his own hands.

While Bulgaria was growing in stature, Servia experienced a series of unedifying quarrels in the Royal Family. The King and Queen had married for love, but Milan's affections were quickly transferred to other ladies. Moreover, he leaned to Austria, while she was a Russian. He obtained a divorce in 1889, and immediately afterwards abdicated in favour of his only son, Alexander, a precocious lad of thirteen. Four years later the young King proclaimed himself of age and abolished the democratic constitution granted by his father in 1889. Though Milan returned to Belgrade as Commander-in-Chief and Natalie occasionally visited her son, the headstrong Alexander followed his own counsel, and in 1900 married Draga Mashin, a woman of humble birth and doubtful character. No children were born, and the hated Queen was suspected of plotting to secure the succession for one of her brothers. To stem the tide of discontent the King granted a more liberal Constitution in 1901, but in 1903 he withdrew it. Two months later the royal couple were murdered in their palace by officers led by Colonel Mashin, brother

of Draga's first husband. As Milan had died in 1901 and the direct Obrenovich line was extinct, Peter Karageorgevich, who had spent his life in exile, ascended the throne without opposition. The new King, though not personally responsible for the crime, was boycotted by most of the Powers till 1906, when the chief murderers retired. Commerce was gravely prejudiced by a tariff war with Austria, the chief market for Servian pigs, and the Crown Prince George kept the country in a ferment till he was persuaded to resign the succession in favour of his younger brother Alexander. Relations with Vienna went from bad to worse, and the Russophil ruler, aided by Pasitch, the ablest of his Ministers, looked to the Tsar to foster a united Jugoslavia at Austria's expense.

For several years after the Treaty of Berlin the fortunes of Turkey were uneventful. Abdul Hamid had gathered the reins into his own hand, obscurantism brooded over the land, and the finances sank into ever deeper confusion. The chief sufferers were the Christians of Asia Minor and Macedonia. The Armenians, who had never had a state of their own and did not ask for it, had petitioned the Congress of Berlin for a Christian Governor, but had obtained nothing beyond a promise of reforms. The sympathy of the Powers proved a curse, for the suspicious autocrat, fearing that autonomy would lead to separation, resolved to nip in the bud what he regarded as a deep-laid plot. The reforms remained a dead letter, and in 1894 the savage Kurds, aided by Turkish troops, butchered thousands of Armenians of all ages. The Powers insisted on a Commission of Inquiry and presented a scheme of reform which was readily accepted. It was the Sultan's practice to make paper promises, trusting to his skill in postponing or sabotaging their operation and in playing off the Powers against each other. Russia, so recently

the champion of the Christian subjects of the Turk, was turning her eyes to the Far East and losing interest in her old *protégés*. While these futile proceedings were taking place, massacres broke out again in the autumn of 1895. In the following year a band of desperate Armenians seized the Ottoman Bank in Constantinople, and for two days they were slaughtered by thousands in the streets of the capital. A shudder ran through Europe, but the Powers were disunited and the Great Assassin remained unpunished.

Meanwhile attention was attracted to another part of the Sultan's distracted dominions. The Constitution granted to Crete in 1868 had been supplemented by the Pact of Halepa in 1878. The new Charter worked fairly well under Greek governors till 1889, when a revolt caused the Sultan to limit the powers of the Assembly and to appoint a Mussulman. Disturbances continued, and in 1895 a Christian Governor was again selected. The Mussulman minority showed their resentment by attacks on the Christians. In February 1897 the Christians proclaimed union with Greece, and a force occupied the island in the King's name. The Powers in vain ordered the withdrawal of the Greek troops. The admirals occupied Canea, and when the insurgents attacked the Turkish troops they were compelled to desist by a bombardment. Though King George had no desire for a conflict, armed bands crossed the northern frontier of Greece and Turkey at once declared war. The Greek Army was utterly unprepared and badly led, while the Turks had been drilled by German instructors. The Greek Fleet displayed a masterly inactivity, and when the troops of Crown Prince Constantine fled from Larissa, the Athenian populace threatened the palace. The Powers intervened, an armistice was arranged, and the Greek troops evacuated Crete. The treaty of

peace restored Thessaly to Greece with the exception of some strategic positions, but imposed an indemnity to Turkey of 4 millions, with European control of her debt.

Though Greece was ignominiously defeated the old order in Crete was not restored, for the Turks had never learned how to treat their Christian subjects. In 1898 a wholesale massacre of Christians occurred, British subjects were attacked in the harbour of Candia, and the Vice-Consul was murdered. The British admiral bombarded the town and insisted on the removal of the Turkish troops. The Sultan yielded, and in a few weeks only a solitary Turkish flag proclaimed his suzerainty. Prince George of Greece was appointed for three years as High Commissioner of the Powers, a constitution was drawn up, and for a space the island enjoyed peace. When the Christians began to quarrel among themselves in 1904, Venizelos, the leader of the Opposition, took to the mountains and proclaimed union with Greece. The winter cold compelled him to surrender, but in 1906 Prince George resigned his post in disgust, his place being taken by Zaimis, an experienced Greek politician. The island remained under the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan till the Balkan States fell on Turkey in 1912.

After the virtual loss of Crete the Sultan was confronted by a still more difficult problem in Macedonia, which, like Armenia, had never obtained the reforms guaranteed by the Treaty of Berlin. The sorely tried Christians looked to the surrounding States for sympathy and support. Greece, Bulgaria, and Servia responded by a vigorous racial propaganda, while Roumania interested herself in the Vlachs. The racial feuds were complicated by difference of religious allegiance. For centuries the Balkan Christians had looked to the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople; but in 1870 the Sultan had created a Bulgarian Exarch, and Patriarchists

and Exarchists proceeded to fight the battle of Greek and Bulgarian claims in Macedonia.

In 1899 the Macedonian Committee at Sofia appealed to the Powers to create an autonomous province under a Bulgarian Governor-General; Bulgarian irregulars crossed the frontier, Greece and Servia followed suit, and the ravages of roving bands were added to the torments of Turkish misrule. Austria and Russia drew up a scheme of reform in February 1903, providing for an Inspector-General and the reorganization of the *gendarmerie* by foreign officers. As usual, the Sultan accepted the scheme, but the disorder increased and the Bulgarian bands organized a fruitless insurrection. In the autumn the Emperors drew up a revised edition of their programme. The two Powers attached Civil Agents to Hilmi, the Turkish Inspector-General; the *gendarmerie* was placed under the command of an Italian general; and Macedonia was divided into sections under the supervision of officers of all the Great Powers except Germany. The elaborate machinery was useless, for the foreign officials and officers possessed no executive power. In 1905 the Sultan was compelled by a naval demonstration to sanction a Financial Commission, but the ravages of the rival bands continued till the Turks were expelled in 1912.

In July 1908 the situation in the Near East underwent a dramatic transformation. The Young Turks, who had long preached reform from the safe anchorage of London and Paris, had been recently working among the troops. They pointed to the corruption and tyranny of the Sultan's régime, and argued that the anarchy of Macedonia would lead to intervention and partition. The propaganda had been carried far and wide before the Sultan heard of it; and when he prepared to strike, the leaders proclaimed the revival of the short-lived Midhat Constitution of 1876 and threatened to march on

Constantinople. The timid tyrant yielded in panic, the warring races and Churches joined in celebrating the downfall of their common foe, and a Parliament modelled on that of Midhat met in the autumn.

The honeymoon was brief and the first shock came from abroad. In October 1908 Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria threw off the overlordship of Turkey and proclaimed himself King, while Austria-Hungary formally annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Young Turks bowed to the inevitable and finally accepted a small financial *solatium* from both Powers. A more serious danger revealed itself during the winter in divisions among the enemies of the old régime. The Committee of Union and Progress, which had organized the revolution and directed the new Government from Salonika, irritated the nationalities by a rigorous policy of centralization. The quarrels of the reformers were the Sultan's opportunity. In April 1909 a revolution broke out in Constantinople and the Young Turks fled for their lives. But the Macedonian troops remained loyal to the Constitution, and within a fortnight Shevket Pasha fought his way into the capital. Abdul Hamid was deposed, and his colourless brother emerged from his gilded cage to fill the tottering throne. The Young Turks had won again, but the warning was thrown away. Enver, Talaat, and their colleagues were patriotic men, but they had no use for democracy. Large sums were spent on the Army, the inhabitants of Macedonia were roughly disarmed, and Albania was goaded into revolt. A hideous massacre of Armenians at Adana showed that the Young Turks were as bad as the old.

In October 1912 Bulgaria, Servia, Greece, and Montenegro sprang at the throat of their ancient oppressor. An alliance had been formed by the joint efforts of Venizelos, who had rescued Greece from anarchy on taking office

in 1910, Gueshof, Prime Minister of Bulgaria, and Pasitch, Prime Minister of Servia. The Bulgarians won a decisive victory at Lule Burgas in Thrace, and drove the Turks to the shelter of the Tchatalja Lines. Servia smashed the main Macedonian army at Kumanovo in Macedonia, and occupied Uskub and Monastir. The Greeks fought their way into Salonica and occupied the Aegean Islands. Montenegro, on the other hand, dashed herself in vain against the fortress of Scutari in Albania. Thrace and Macedonia were freed from the Turkish yoke, though at a terrible cost. In December an armistice was declared to which Greece was not a party, but as Turkey refused to surrender Adrianople hostilities were resumed in February 1913. Adrianople was stormed by the Bulgarians with Servian aid, Greece captured the fortress of Jannina, and Scutari at last fell to the arms of King Nicholas.

A month after peace was signed with Turkey by the Treaty of London on 13 May the victorious Allies began to quarrel over the spoils. Servia declined to abide by the treaty of Macedonian partition concluded before the war, and King Ferdinand, consumed by territorial ambition, attacked his late comrades. While locked in struggle with Servia and Greece, Bulgaria was invaded from the north by Roumania, who feared that her neighbour might grow too powerful, and the Turks recaptured Adrianople. Beaten to her knees by the combined forces of her neighbours, Bulgaria was compelled to sign the Treaty of Bucharest in August, which left her with a territory and population no greater than she possessed before the war. Macedonia was divided between Servia and Greece. Crete was at last united with Greece, and Prince William of Wied, a Prussian officer and a nephew of the Queen of Roumania, was chosen by the Powers to be the ruler of Albania.

CHAPTER VI

THE BALANCE OF POWER

I

WITH the Franco-German War of 1870 the European system entered a new phase. Throughout the conflict Bismarck was tortured by fear of a coalition, and when France was beaten his main task was to keep her in quarantine. Though she could not be expected to forgive or forget the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, so long as she was friendless she could not hit back. 'We are satiated', he declared, and he meant what he said. Ruthless in the three premeditated attacks which led to the creation of a German Empire, but moderate in the hours of victory, he preached and practised the doctrine of limited liability. Though Germany was the strongest military power in the world, he neither overestimated nor overtaxed her strength. Like Cavour, he was never an imperialist. Even before the war was over he planned an alliance with Russia and Austria to safeguard the new edifice. Alexander II was the nephew of the Emperor William, and the relations of the two Courts were cordial. When the struggle began the Iron Chancellor had secretly encouraged Russia to tear up the restrictions on her right to keep warships in the Black Sea. An alliance with Austria might seem less easy to accomplish, but it was not impossible. He had wisely insisted on seizing no territory in 1866. Though Napoleon III expected Austrian assistance in his time of need, Francis Joseph stood aside, owing to a fear that Russia might join in the fray. The anti-Prussian Beust was dismissed, and in 1872 the three Emperors met at

Berlin. No written agreement was concluded, but it was decided to consult each other in international affairs. Bismarck bestrode Europe like a colossus, for England was friendly and Italy hardly seemed to count.

Bismarck supported the Republic in France on the ground that it would be weaker and less likely to attract allies than a monarchy, but when she increased her Army in 1875, Moltke demanded a second war. Neither the Emperor nor the Chancellor desired another round, but the latter was alarmed by the resilience of France and his ambiguous attitude aroused apprehension. France appealed to Russia, the Tsar and Gortschakoff hastened to Berlin, and Queen Victoria wrote to the Emperor William. The danger was averted, but the intervention of Russia rankled in Bismarck's mind, and the two Courts ceased to trust each other. When Austria and England declared that the settlement of the Near East after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8 was a matter for Europe as a whole, Bismarck offered himself as an 'honest broker', and presided over the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Big Bulgaria, in which Russian influence would have been supreme, was vetoed, while Austria, who had taken no part in the struggle, was presented with Bosnia and Herzegovina to administer under the suzerainty of the Sultan.

The pride of Gortschakoff and his master, who expected some return for their benevolent neutrality in 1870, was deeply wounded. When the massing of Russian troops on the German frontier seemed to bring war within sight, William tried to soothe his nephew by an interview; but Bismarck, convinced that more was needed than fair words, went to Vienna and brought home a treaty, the assent of his master being secured only by the threat of resignation. The Dual Alliance concluded in 1879, but not published till 1888, bound the

signatories to support each other if attacked by Russia. If one were attacked by any other Power, the partner would remain neutral; but if the enemy were supported by Russia, the partner was bound to assist. The alliance was welcomed in both countries as a safeguard against a Russian attack, and Germany was secured against a Franco-Russian onslaught. The pact closed the chapter of strife and estrangement between men of German blood, and healed the wounds of Sadowa. Bismarck's moderation in 1866 had justified itself.

The Dual Alliance marks the beginning of the definite division of Europe into two camps. In 1882 the adhesion of Italy created the Triple Alliance, and in 1883 Roumania secretly bound herself to Vienna and Berlin. Though Italy had combined with Prussia in 1866 to attack Austria, her sympathies in 1870 were with France. But the French Republic in its early years was governed by men who resented the loss of the Temporal Power, and for some years a French ship lay at Civita Vecchia at the disposal of the Pope as a mute protest against the occupation of Rome. The danger of intervention passed away when Gambetta repulsed the monarchical attack in 1877, but another cause of friction soon appeared. Knowing Italy's Mediterranean ambitions, Bismarck seized the opportunity of the Congress of Berlin to suggest to France the occupation of Tunis. A similar encouragement came from England as the price of French acquiescence in the taking of Cyprus. Backed by these sponsors, France established a protectorate in 1881. Italy seethed with indignation, for she coveted it for herself, but she could not fight alone. An alliance seemed essential to national security, and in 1882 she became the partner of Germany and Austria for five years. The pact was renewed in 1887 and on subsequent occasions, and remained in being till 1915.

The formation of the Triple Alliance was a further step towards Bismarck's ideal of a France in perpetual quarantine. That England declined alliances he was reminded when he approached Disraeli in 1879 and Salisbury in 1889; but he was not perturbed, knowing that she would give no trouble if Germany did not challenge her naval supremacy. The only Power to whom the Republic could look was Russia, and Bismarck strove to mend the wire to St. Petersburg. The accession of Alexander III in 1881 brought to the throne a ruler whose dislike of Germany was notorious, but whose love of peace was sincere and whose fear of revolution amounted to a mania. In 1884 the three Emperors bound themselves for three years to benevolent neutrality in the event of any one of them attacking or being attacked by another Power. The partnership was renewed in 1884, and thus France was completely isolated at last; but in the following year the union of Eastern Roumelia with Bulgaria caused friction between Russia and Austria, and in 1887 the Tsar determined to withdraw from the *entente*. Bismarck, however, persuaded him to renew the bond with Germany alone for three years more in a secret treaty of which Austria was not informed, and did his best in return to convince Russia of his goodwill. When a daughter of the Emperor Frederick desired in 1888 to marry Alexander of Battenberg, formerly Prince of Bulgaria, he compelled the parents under threat of resignation to break off the match. 'In Bulgaria', he declared, 'I am Russian', adding in a celebrated phrase that the Balkan Christians were not worth the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier.

The fall of Bismarck in 1890 was the signal for a far-reaching transformation of the European landscape. For twenty years he had kept France in isolation by giving the Powers no reason to covet her support. William II,

on the other hand, dreamed of a big fleet and territorial expansion, and, trusting in the Triple Alliance, made no attempt to renew the secret treaty with Russia when it ran out in 1890. Caprivi, his new Chancellor, Marschall von Bieberstein, his new Foreign Minister, and Holstein, the oracle of the Wilhelmstrasse, argued that it was disloyal to the Austrian ally: the arrangement, explained Caprivi, was too complicated for him to work. Thus Russia, no longer wooed by Berlin, was at last free to take the momentous step to which she had long been gravitating.

In 1870 the sympathies of the Russian Government had been with Germany, for Louis Napoleon's share in the Crimean War and his championship of Poland in 1863 were unforgotten. Yet the German and Russian peoples never liked each other, and Alexander II had no desire to see Germany dominate the Continent. His intervention in 1875 was the first step on the road to Paris. After the rebuff inflicted by the Treaty of Berlin some Russian publicists advocated an alliance; but the Tsar was unconvinced, and most French statesmen were anti-Russian. Events, however, were stronger than individuals. In April 1887, when France and Germany were brought to the verge of war by the arrest of Schnaebele, a French official who had crossed the frontier to meet a German functionary, Alexander III sent an autograph letter to the Emperor, who ordered his release. In 1888 the first Russian loan was floated on the French market. In 1890 Russian Nihilists were arrested in Paris while engaged in the preparation of bombs, and the plan of a visit of the French Fleet to Russia was discussed. In 1891 a squadron visited Cronstadt, and the autocrat listened bareheaded to the *Marseillaise*. Europe was startled by the enthusiastic welcome, and Caprivi declared that there must be an alliance.

A month later a treaty of mutual consultation was signed in Paris, and in the following year a military convention was drawn up, though it was not ratified till 1894. When a Russian squadron visited Toulon in 1893 the sailors received a delirious welcome. In 1895 Ribot publicly spoke of Russia as 'our ally'. In 1896 the new Tsar Nicholas II visited France—the first visit of a crowned head to the Third Republic. Finally, in 1897, President Faure returned the visit, and the alliance was proclaimed by the Tsar in the famous words '*nations amies et alliées*'. That a first-class Power should desire an alliance was an emphatic recognition that France had recovered from her defeat, and the difference of political institutions was forgotten in the satisfaction of possessing a powerful friend. On Russia's side the alliance was hailed as good political business. Her plans in the Far East required not only an assured position in Europe, but the loans which thrifty France was ready to supply. The Bismarckian edifice was beginning to crumble.

Though the Triple Alliance no longer dominated Europe without a competitor, the old combination was stronger than the new, and England was no friend either of Russia or of France. She had joined in the Crimean War and helped to tear up the Treaty of San Stefano. She had given moral support to Bulgaria during the crisis of 1885. She had frowned on the Russian advance beyond the Caspian, and the two countries had been brought within sight of war by a frontier incident at Penjdeh on the Afghan border in 1885. Aggression in the Pamirs in 1891-2 confirmed the belief that Russia had designs on India. The scramble for China which began in 1897 added a new source of friction, and the seizure of Port Arthur moved Chamberlain to the wrathful exclamation: 'Who sups with the Devil must have a long spoon.'

Between England and France there was a far older tradition of hostility, and the era of French colonial expansion inaugurated by the seizure of Tunis opened up a boundless vista of controversy. The British Government protested against the fortification of Bizerta. A long series of bickerings occurred as British and French troops and traders pushed into the heart of Nigeria. The transportation of French convicts to New Caledonia was hotly resented by Australia, whither many escaped, and the occupation of the New Hebrides was contrary to repeated declarations. French pressure on Siam, where England also had interests, brought war within sight in 1893. The exclusion of British trade from Madagascar when the island was annexed in 1896 excited indignation, and the hoary dispute about the Newfoundland fisheries remained unsolved.

Above all, the British occupation of Egypt, in which France had taken interest ever since the expedition of Napoleon, provided a constant source of irritation. For some years she comforted herself with the belief that on the restoration of order England would withdraw in accordance with her repeated declarations, but by the irony of fate the last chance was frustrated by her own action. In 1887 the Drummond Wolff Convention arranged for evacuation within three years, subject to the right to re-enter if the interests of the bondholders were threatened. Yielding to the representations of France, Abdul Hamid refused the condition, and a few years later it was made clear that no limit to the occupation was contemplated. In 1895 the Rosebery Government announced that it would regard an attempt by another Power to occupy any part of the Nile Valley as an unfriendly act, and in 1896 the reconquest of the Sudan was commenced. Despite Grey's declaration, shortly confirmed by the Salisbury Government, Captain

Marchand was dispatched from the French Congo in 1896 to establish a post on the Upper Nile. He reached Fashoda in July 1898, but after the victory of Omdurman Kitchener marched south and ordered the little force to retire. When the French Government hesitated, British opinion declared itself in uncompromising tones, and war was only averted by unconditional surrender. England's disgust at the treatment of Dreyfus increased the hostility of France, and the Boer War provided an opportunity of retaliation which she used to the full. For a time Englishmen were more unpopular in Paris than Germans, and even the venerable figure of Queen Victoria was not spared.

England's relations with the members of the Triple Alliance, on the other hand, were friendly. Her sympathy with Italy was proverbial, and a secret understanding was reached in 1887 guaranteeing the *status quo* in the Mediterranean. With Austria there was no clash of interest and Francis Joseph was generally revered. With Germany she was closely connected by ties of blood. Bismarck was accommodating, and consistently supported the British position on the Nile, remarking, 'In Egypt I am English'. His successors were far less prudent. The dispatch of a challenging telegram to Kruger after the repulse of the Jameson Raid in January 1896 caused war to be spoken of for the first time, and the Emperor's annual visits for the Cowes Regatta ceased. The excitement gradually died down, for in the following years friction with France and Russia reached its height. A secret treaty relating to British and German spheres of influence in Portuguese Africa was signed in 1898, and the following year witnessed concessions to Germany in the islands of Samoa.

II

The opening years of the twentieth century witnessed a gradual alteration of the balance of forces among the six Great Powers of Europe, resulting in the transfer of support from the Triple to the Dual Alliance. The three main steps in this momentous transformation were the reconciliation of Italy with France, of France with England, and of England with Russia. After thirty years France found herself in a majority, Germany in a minority, while England emerged from a century of what was popularly known as splendid isolation but is more accurately described as the policy of the free hand.

The quarrel of France and Italy dating from the occupation of Tunis reached its most acute stage during the two ministries of Crispi. A tariff war began in 1888 and incidents intensified ill-feeling. In 1887 the Italian police violated the archives of the French Consulate at Florence. In 1888 the Italian commander came into conflict with French subjects at the port of Massawa on the Red Sea. In 1891 a French pilgrim inscribed the words *Vive Le Roi-Pape* near the tomb of Victor Emmanuel. In 1893 Italian workmen were killed in a brawl at Aigues-Mortes, and the Roman mob retaliated by an attack on the French Embassy. In 1894 some French journalists were expelled from Rome. Yet there had always been a Francophil party, and after the fall of Crispi wiser counsels began to prevail. In 1896 Italy recognized the French position in Tunis; in 1898 a commercial treaty ended the tariff war; in a secret agreement of 1900 France undertook not to oppose Italian claims in Tripoli, while Italy promised France a free hand in Morocco. In 1902 a secret agreement pledged Italy to take no part in a German aggression

against France. The ties which had bound her to her partners in the Triple Alliance were loosening fast. She had already informed Berlin and Vienna that they must not expect her to share in a war in which England was on the other side. In 1903 Victor Emmanuel journeyed to Paris, and the seal was set to the reconciliation when President Loubet, despite the thunders of the Vatican, returned the visit in 1904. Her allies realized that Italy had a foot in both camps, though the secret agreements were not published till 1920.

The second step towards the re-grouping of the Powers was taken in May 1903 when Edward VII paid his first official visit to Paris. Though the anti-Dreyfusards had fallen from power, and Delcassé was a far more Anglophil Foreign Minister than Hanotaux, France was in no mood to embrace her old enemy. The initiative came from the King himself, who, unlike his mother, was an admirer of the Republic. So long as England could rely on the friendliness of the Triple Alliance the enmity of France and Russia was not very dangerous. But German disapproval of the Boer War had been expressed as offensively as that of France; and though the Emperor refused to receive Kruger and the Boer Generals, and behaved throughout with scrupulous correctness, the old cordiality was gone. At the end of 1901 Chamberlain protested against German attacks on the conduct of British troops in South Africa, and recalled German excesses in 1870. Bülow replied that criticisms of the German Army were like biting on granite. The gulf opened by the war was widened by the refusal of the British Government to assist in the project of the Bagdad Railway and by the determination of Germany to become a great naval Power. Even co-operation for the recovery of debts in Venezuela was resented in the British Press.

King Edward was welcomed in Paris in 1903 with respect if not with enthusiasm, and the return visit paid by President Loubet in July paved the way for a full interchange of ideas. Before the South African War Chamberlain had complained of a policy of pinpricks and roughly summoned France to mend her manners. The countries were still at issue on several points, but the elements of a bargain were present. The withdrawal from Fashoda left France nothing to fight for on the Nile, while England possessed no political interests in Morocco, to which France had long turned her eyes. On these foundations a treaty was framed, France undertaking not to obstruct or press for the termination of the British occupation of Egypt, England according France a free hand in Morocco subject to the internationalization of Tangier and equal commercial opportunity. Troublesome disputes regarding West Africa, Siam, the New Hebrides, Madagascar, and Newfoundland were also amicably arranged. The treaty of 8 April 1904 was welcomed in both countries not only as a settlement of long-standing differences, but as paving the way for political co-operation. For England it ended a period of isolation which was becoming dangerous. To France it brought an increase of security only second in importance to the Russian alliance.

France had gained new friends and was soon to need them. On the eve of the signature of the treaty Delcassé informed the German Ambassador in Paris of its terms, and Prince Radolin pronounced it to be 'very natural and perfectly justified'. On its publication Bülow declared that there was no reason to suppose it to be directed against any Power, and that it contained nothing prejudicial to German interests in Morocco, which were purely commercial. After such seemingly friendly declarations the French Government had no hesitation

in going ahead. In October an agreement was signed with Spain, whom Delcassé thus associated with his plans of domination in Morocco. Since that country adjoined Algeria for hundreds of miles frontier incidents were frequent. The Sultan, Abdul-Aziz, who had ascended the throne in 1894 at the age of sixteen, was intelligent enough to admire the trappings of European civilization, but not to assimilate its spirit. His love of foreign inventions irritated his people, and in his nerveless grasp the kingdom fell into chaos. Agreements with France in 1901 and 1902 provided for co-operation in the maintenance of order; but the whole country needed reorganization, and at the close of 1904 he was presented with a bold scheme of reforms to be carried out by the aid of French loans.

The first hint of trouble came from the German Minister in Morocco in the early weeks of 1905, and in March William II landed from his yacht at Tangier. He announced that the Sultan was free and independent, that it would be unwise to hurry reforms, and that German interests would be safeguarded. This declaration, forced on him by Bülow and Holstein, virtually promised help to Morocco in resisting French pressure and was followed by invitations to a Conference on the Moroccan question. The proposal was a direct challenge to French claims to preponderance and Delcassé advised its rejection: England, he declared, had offered an alliance and promised support. This statement was based on a misapprehension, for Lansdowne had suggested nothing beyond close consultation in view of German designs in Morocco. The Rouvier Cabinet refused to run risks, for French armaments were notoriously unready for war and the Foreign Minister, who had held the reins for nearly seven years, was dropped. His fall was a diplomatic triumph for

Germany and was marked by the elevation of Bülow to the rank of Prince.

Delcassé's resignation was a second Fashoda, and French resentment was the keener owing to the conviction that Germany had taken advantage of the temporary paralysis of her ally. The attack on French policy began after the fall of Port Arthur, and the Tangier speech was delivered after the Russian reverses in Manchuria. It was believed, moreover, that Morocco was merely the occasion to strike at the recent *entente* with England. A revulsion of feeling set in and large sums were spent on the Army. In August the Treaty of Portsmouth, which ended the conflict in the Far East, allowed Russia to resume her part in European politics. Thus when the Conference on Morocco met at Algeciras in January 1906 Paris was in no yielding mood.

Throughout the prolonged discussions France was steadily backed by Russia and Great Britain, while Italy incurred German resentment by her Francophil attitude. The United States supported her on the merits of the case, and even Austria showed a disposition to arrive at a fair compromise. Thus while the submission of the Moroccan question to the European areopagus was a formal triumph for Germany, the Conference itself disappointed her. Though the integrity of the country was secured on paper, France and Spain obtained a mandate to organize a police force for the coast towns, and France was allotted a predominant share in the proposed State bank. Holstein had advised opposition to French ambitions, if necessary by war, but he was overruled and resigned. In 1908 a dangerous quarrel arising out of the arrest of German deserters at Casablanca was settled by The Hague Tribunal. Finally, by an agreement in 1909, Germany recognized the special political interest of France in return for an economic *condominium*.

Delcassé was gone but his dream of a French Morocco was coming true.

The *entente* which had grown out of the Treaty of 1904 had proved itself capable of resisting strain, but there was still one more step to be taken before the position of France could be regarded as satisfactory. Her Russian ally and her new British friend still looked askance at one another, and the Russo-Japanese war had produced an awkward situation. It had required all Delcassé's tact to avoid a break when the Russians fired on the Hull fishermen in the North Sea, while a new danger arose when Japan charged France with assisting the Russian fleet during its leisurely voyage to the Far East. The common support of France, however, during the critical months at Algeciras brought Great Britain and Russia appreciably nearer to one another. The questions at issue had been surveyed by Lansdowne and Lamsdorff in 1903, but the discussions were interrupted by the Russo-Japanese War, in which British sympathies were naturally on the side of her ally. They were resumed in the autumn of 1905, and Grey proved no less eager for an arrangement than his predecessor. After long negotiations with Iswolsky in St. Petersburg a Convention was signed in August 1907 defining the respective spheres of influence in Persia, recognizing the right of Great Britain to control the foreign policy of Afghanistan, and pledging both parties to abstain from interference in Tibet.

The agreement was attacked by Conservatives on the ground that the line through Persia was unduly favourable to Russia, and that British predominance in the Persian Gulf was not explicitly recognized; by zealous champions of Persian independence on the ground that it virtually partitioned the country; and by Left-wing Liberals and Labour on the principle that co-operation

with autocratic Russia was indefensible. In reply it was urged that the removal of all fear of Russian attack on India was worth some sacrifices, that recognition of Russian preponderance in Northern Persia merely reflected the existing situation, and that the treaty would lead to mutual support in European politics. The visit of King Edward to Reval in June 1908 revealed such cordial relations between the two Governments that Germany professed to discover a design for her isolation. The Anglo-French-Russian *entente* was strengthened by the reconciliation of Russia and France with Japan on the basis of a recognition of the *status quo* in the Far East arising out of her recent victory. Henceforth Iswolsky could devote his undivided attention to the European chessboard.

A few months after the Dual Alliance had expanded into the Triple Entente the waters of European diplomacy were once more lashed into foam. Though Austria and Russia had agreed in 1897 to work together in the Balkans and had done so in Macedonia in 1903, the world was startled in February 1908 by an announcement that Aehrenthal, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, had obtained permission to make a survey for a railway through the Sanjak of Novibazar. To ask such a favour from Turkey at a time when the only hope of urgently needed Macedonian reform lay in unceasing pressure from the Concert was regarded in England as rank treachery. Moreover, it opened the door to the ambitions of other Balkan Powers, and Servia immediately put forward a demand, which was supported by Russia, for a railway to the Adriatic. But before either project could be commenced a revolution in Turkey altered the whole face of affairs.

While sympathetically watching the efforts of the Young Turks to modernize their country, Europe was

startled in October 1908 by the news that Bulgaria had thrown off the suzerainty of the Sultan, and that Austria-Hungary had annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the same time renouncing her right to keep garrisons in the Sanjak of Novibazar. In a moment the whole of Eastern Europe was in a ferment. Servia demanded compensation for the destruction of her hopes of union with Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro pressed for the removal of treaty fetters on her seaboard. Meanwhile Grey, anxious to give the Young Turks a fair chance, declared that any modifications of the Treaty of Berlin must be approved by another European Congress, and Russia and France supported his demand.

Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary compounded for their sins by a cash indemnity, but when the danger of war with Turkey was thus removed Aehrenthal could afford to oppose an unyielding front to Servian claims. The little kingdom trusted to the support of its mighty Slav patron, but Iswolsky secretly proposed a deal by which Austria should annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, promising in return her diplomatic support for the opening of the Turkish straits to Russian warships. He needed time to sound the Western Powers, but Aehrenthal only gave him a few days' notice of his intention to act. The annexation was a shock to the Russian people, which knew nothing of the Foreign Minister's manœuvres. Iswolsky never forgave Aehrenthal for his sharp practice and argued that a Conference of the Powers must be held. Austria refused and Germany backed up her only reliable partner.

The dangerous tension was ended in March 1909 by a peremptory intimation from Berlin that if Russia's support of Servian claims were to lead to war with Austria, Germany would support her ally with all her

strength. Iswolsky instantly collapsed and the annexation was recognized without waiting for a Conference. Aehrenthal had gambled and won, but his victory was dearly bought. The indemnity to Turkey and the large sum spent on preparing the Army for war, the surrender of military control in Novibazar, the boycott of Austrian goods in Turkish ports, the estrangement of Turkey, Servia, and Montenegro, above all the alienation of the Powers of the Triple Entente, might well appear even to his countrymen a high price to pay for the abolition of Turkish suzerainty over provinces which for all practical purposes had belonged to the Dual Monarchy for a generation.

The storm subsided very slowly. On visiting the King of Italy in 1909 the Tsar ostentatiously avoided passing through Austrian territory, and a little later William II on a visit to Vienna reminded his hearers how he had stood by their ruler 'in shining armour' in the recent crisis. Yet the old friendliness between Great Britain and Austria gradually returned, and the withdrawal of the embittered and discredited Iswolsky to the Paris Embassy facilitated a *détente* between Vienna and St. Petersburg. When the Tsar visited Potsdam at the close of 1910 Germany undertook to facilitate the plans of Russia in Persia, and Russia withdrew her opposition to the Bagdad Railway, which it was agreed to extend to the Persian frontier. Though it was nonsense to assert that the Potsdam interviews marked the virtual withdrawal of Russia from the Triple Entente, they indicated a *détente* between St. Petersburg and Berlin. Sazonoff, Iswolsky's successor, was anti-Austrian rather than anti-German, and there had always been Germanophil influences at the Russian Court.

In the following year the peace of Europe was again threatened, this time by the forward policy of France in

Morocco. The Franco-German economic *condominium* envisaged in the 1909 agreement, which centred round railway construction and the exploitation of the rich mineral resources, had broken down. On the plea of danger to the European residents in Fez, and at the invitation of the impotent Sultan, a French army occupied the capital. Germany had uttered warnings against such a step and retorted by the dispatch of a gunboat to Agadir on the Atlantic coast. After long and troublesome negotiations Germany renounced her claims to influence in Morocco in return for a substantial slice of the French Congo. The vigorous championship of France by Great Britain announced in a resonant declaration by Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, at the Mansion House in June 1911 and maintained throughout the crisis, provoked fierce indignation in Germany. The excitement only began to cool when Haldane proceeded to Berlin on a special mission in January 1912. Bethmann Hollweg, he reported, was as eager for a *détente* as himself, but Tirpitz had the ear of the Emperor. The negotiations which followed were doomed to failure, for each demanded more than the other felt able to give. England desired a limitation of naval construction sufficient to remove the growing threat to her supremacy at sea, while Germany pressed for a promise of neutrality in the event of a European war. The desire for a *détente* survived this disappointment, and the discussion shifted from naval competition to other problems, agreement being reached on the complexities of the Bagdad Railway enterprise and on the delimitation of spheres of influence in the Portuguese colonies shortly before the outbreak of war in 1914.

The successful attack of the Balkan States on Turkey in the autumn of 1912, while the Italo-Turkish conflict

was still in progress, strained the relations between the Great Powers almost to breaking point. Though neither Russia nor Austria desired territorial aggrandisement in the Balkan Peninsula, both had to think of their protégés and their prestige. The sharpest antagonism arose when the Serbs invaded Albania. To deal with this and other thorny problems Grey suggested informal meetings of the ambassadors of the Great Powers in London which proved of the utmost value in keeping the peace. It was agreed that Albania should become an independent State; but Servia's demand to construct a railway to the Adriatic and her claim on certain Albanian market towns brought Russia, the champion of Servia, and Austria, the champion of Albania, within sight of war. Another awkward corner was turned when King Nicholas of Montenegro was compelled to surrender the Albanian town of Scutari on the morrow of its capitulation. The collapse of Turkey was followed by a brief but ferocious conflict between Bulgaria and her recent allies, which ended with the Treaty of Bucharest in August 1913. Everyone felt that it was only a truce, for the Turks and the Bulgars, the two losers in the Balkan wars, were doughty fighters and were almost certain to try again. They at once drew closer to each other and both entered the German orbit. Servia's ties with Russia became even more intimate. Roumania, angered by Hungary's treatment of her people in Transylvania, turned from her treaty partners in Berlin and Vienna to the friendlier atmosphere of St. Petersburg.

The last year of peace, extending from the end of the Balkan struggles to the breaking of the storm, was a period of mounting tension and feverish preparations for war. The question was no longer whether peace would be preserved, but what kind of spark would set the world alight. Europe was racked by three major

antagonisms—the Anglo-German rivalry in the North Sea, the Franco-German feud about Alsace-Lorraine, and the Austro-Russian struggle for predominance in the Balkans. Incident after incident revealed the fragility of the European structure. An Austrian ultimatum in the autumn of 1913 compelled Serbia to withdraw her troops from Albania, but added new fuel to the animosities of Belgrade. The appointment of General Liman von Sanders to the command of the First Turkish Army Corps at Constantinople aroused the fury of Russia, who had plans of her own for the control of the Straits. In the west Anglo-German relations seemed a little easier, but ugly frontier incidents aggravated the undying feud between Paris and Berlin. The armaments race was in full swing, the increase of the German Army after the Agadir crisis being followed by the restoration of three years' service in France. England and Germany had abandoned the attempt to abate the naval rivalry, and at the request of Russia, supported by France, England agreed to discuss co-operation between the British and Russian fleets in case of war. The *Entente Cordiale* had been strengthened by an exchange of letters between Grey and Paul Cambon, the French Ambassador, in November 1912, which registered the unfettered freedom of both countries to decide their course, but pledged them to consultation in case of need. An official visit by the British sovereigns to Paris in April 1914 seemed to indicate that the two countries were allies in everything but name.

The murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife at Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, on 28 June 1914 lit the fuse which exploded five weeks later. The murderer, a young Austrian Serb, had been aided by Servian officers, though not by the Government of Belgrade, which had no desire for a trial of strength

with Austria before Russia, her mighty patron, had fully recovered from the disasters of the Japanese war. The death of the heir to the throne, unpopular though he was, called for some striking retribution, and the world held its breath while the Dual Empire considered its course. A promise of full support from Berlin was followed by a peremptory ultimatum to Servia on 23 July. On the expiration of the forty-eight-hour limit on 25 July, when unconditional acceptance was declined, the Austrian Minister left Belgrade and three days later Austria declared war. The localization of the conflict could hardly be expected, and if it failed the realm of the Hapsburgs might break up and disappear. The old Emperor observed that they would be fortunate if they got off with a black eye, and even Conrad, the fiery Chief of the Staff, admitted that the most favourable opportunities of fighting a defensive war were past. Why, then, was Austria so intransigent? Because the situation was expected to grow still worse if nothing was done. 'The Serajevo crime', explained Berchtold, the Foreign Minister, 'was simply one of the latest examples of the work of destruction organized against us, of the sapping and mining which was to blow up the house in which we dwelt. The Monarchy was faced by the alternative: a free hand for the house-breaker or a demand for security. On the rejection of the latter a fight for life was all that remained.'

Russia's decision was equally intelligible, for Sazonoff and his master inherited a long tradition from which they had neither the wish nor the power to depart. Her inability to take up the Austrian challenge during the Bosnian crisis was a bitter memory. Had she left her Servian protégé for a second time to the tender mercies of the Hapsburgs, she would have forfeited her proud

claim to be the champion of the Balkan Slavs and have handed over the Near East to the control of the Central Powers. Though bound by no treaty to intervene, she could no more be expected to remain neutral in face of an attack on Belgrade than England in face of a violation of Belgian neutrality. Her intervention in the Austro-Serb quarrel automatically brought Germany into the fray, not only because the latter was the ally of Austria, but because she possessed no other reliable friend. The error of Berlin was not in promising help, but in allowing Vienna to draft unaided the ultimatum which started the avalanche.

France played only a minor part in the days of decision. She was not even consulted about the Russian order for general mobilization which enlarged an Austro-Serb conflict into a world war. Though she had no desire to fight she had no alternative, for she knew that her neutrality would not only shatter the Franco-Russian alliance, but ensure German domination of the Continent. All she could do was to appeal for help to England, not as a treaty obligation, for nothing of the sort existed, but on the ground that England's security was at stake. The violation of Belgian neutrality provoked the British ultimatum of 4 August and united the Empire in righteous anger, but it was the occasion rather than the cause of the declaration of war. Though England's only allies were Portugal and Japan, she had increasingly thrown in her lot with France and Russia. Had she stood aside, the Central Powers would have won an easy victory and she would have found herself alone. Grey's assurance to the House of Commons on 3 August that our hands were free was juridically correct, but the whole speech breathed the conviction that England would be not only endangered but disgraced if she left France in the lurch. In 1914, as in

the struggles against Louis XIV and Napoleon, she fought for the Balance of Power—in other words, against the domination of Europe by a Power or group of Powers strong enough to threaten her national life.

CHAPTER VII

THE AWAKENING OF ASIA

I

AFTER massacring her Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth century, Japan lived a hermit life till the coming of an American squadron in 1854 forced her to open her doors. The last of the hereditary Shoguns resigned in 1867, and the power of the Emperor was restored after an eclipse of more than two centuries. The Daimios surrendered their privileges and the remains of feudalism were abolished in 1871. Thus in four years the country passed through a bloodless revolution under the nominal leadership of the young Emperor Mutsuhitu, who lived to see his country take its place in the ranks of the Great Powers. The task of creating a modern State was complicated by treaty rights, which not only deprived Japan of all power over foreign residents but prevented the raising of the tariff. After vainly endeavouring to obtain a modification of the treaties, the Government sent an embassy to Europe in 1871. Though the mission failed, its members carried back certain lessons of Western civilization. An efficient Army and Navy were created, compulsory education was inaugurated, the judicial system was reformed, railways were built, and factories established in the big cities. The people were quick learners, though they found it easier to copy institutions than to capture the spirit which had made them work. In 1894 England recognized Japan as a civilized State by abandoning her ex-territorial privileges, and by 1899 the other Powers had followed suit. For the first time Europe voluntarily

submitted the fortunes of her children to the jurisdiction of an Oriental State.

The modernization and industrialization of Japan carried with it the introduction of representative institutions, and in 1880 the Emperor promised a Parliament. The planning of a Constitution was entrusted to Ito, the ablest of a group of young men who in after years were to become the Elder Statesmen. In 1885 he became the head of the first Cabinet, the members of which were appointed by and responsible to the Emperor. The first Parliament met in 1890. The Constitution was largely modelled on that of Prussia, with a narrow franchise (extended in 1900) and an independent executive. The early years were filled with bitter strife with the Ministers and the official class, over whom the elected House possessed no control. Opposition and obstruction were met by repeated dissolutions, and the power of the Emperor remained undiminished, his authority being supported by the House of Peers and the Army and Navy chiefs. Democratic forms, it was discovered, were merely a façade.

The emergence of a powerful and ambitious State in the Far East was announced to the world in 1894. An attempt had been made to establish closer relations with Korea, and a Japanese envoy was sent to reside at Seoul, the capital, in 1880. The weakness of Korea was a perpetual temptation to her neighbours, and Japan invited China to co-operate in demanding reform. When China refused, she demanded acceptance of a Japanese programme of reforms in July 1894. Korea temporised, Seoul was taken without difficulty, and the Emperor was made prisoner. China intervened but was easily defeated by Japanese troops who had been trained by European officers. The loss of Port Arthur compelled Li Hung Chang to ask for peace, and on the fall of

Wei-hai-Wei the war was over. In April 1895 a treaty was signed at Shimonoseki, by which China ceded to Japan the Liao-Tung Peninsula and the island of Formosa and promised a large indemnity.

The ink of the treaty was hardly dry when Russia, France, and Germany summoned Japan to disgorge the Liao-Tung Peninsula on the ground that her possession of Port Arthur threatened the independence of Peking. Japan had to submit and the Chinese indemnity was increased by 5 millions. The intervention of the Western Powers opened a new chapter in the history of the Far East. Russia had reached the Pacific in the seventeenth century, and the Amur region was secured in 1858-60 by Muraviev. The Trans-Siberian Railway from Moscow to Vladivostock was begun in 1891, and after saving China from the loss of the peninsula Russia concluded a convention with her authorizing a branch line through Manchuria. But the insincerity of the Powers in vetoing Japanese spoliation was soon revealed. In 1897, when two German missionaries were murdered in Shantung, China was compelled by Germany to lease the port and district of Kiao-Chow for ninety-nine years. Russia followed suit by obtaining permission to winter her fleet in Port Arthur, and in March 1898 she demanded a lease of the coveted ice-free port. Great Britain, not to be outdone, acquired Wei-hai-Wei and an extension of her territory opposite Hong-Kong. France obtained a concession near Tonkin, but when Italy asked for a bay China plucked up courage to refuse.

The encroachments of the European Powers evoked intense indignation in China and killed the reform movement which had begun after the Japanese war. The only satisfactory piece of imperial machinery was the administration of the maritime customs by Sir Robert

Hart. The young Emperor, Kuang-Hsu, was convinced of the need of change, and adopted the proposals of Kang Yu Wei. Learning that her nephew had decided on her imprisonment, and taking advantage of the growing hatred of the 'foreign devils', the formidable Dowager-Empress, Tzu Hsi, emerged from her retreat. The Emperor's life was spared and Kang Yu Wei escaped, but his reforming colleagues were executed. The Regency was re-established, the reform decrees were annulled, and China swung back to reaction. A society called the Boxers (who claimed to be invulnerable to bullets) spread through the provinces, preaching death to foreigners. Attacks on Europeans began in 1899 and in May 1900 the Ministers at Peking asked for additional guards. No sooner had they arrived than the city was surrounded by Boxer troops, and an attempt by Admiral Seymour to relieve Peking was frustrated. The destruction of the Taku forts, which had fired on the allied warships, was treated by China as a declaration of war. The Chinese troops now joined the Boxers, the German Ambassador was murdered in the streets of Peking, and the foreign residents, who had taken refuge in the British Legation, were bombarded. Early in August an international army of 20,000 men marched from the coast to Peking. The capital was entered after sharp fighting ten days later, the Empress fled into the interior, and the Legations were rescued after a terrible siege of two months. The allies insisted on the punishment of the ringleaders, the dismantling of the forts between Peking and the coast, and large indemnities. To prevent a similar occurrence the Legations were fortified. Peace was signed in 1901, and the Dowager Empress returned to her capital early in 1902.

The resentment aroused in Japan by the forced surrender of Port Arthur swelled into fierce anger when

Russia herself seized the coveted stronghold. A demand for a port on the southern coast of Korea in 1899 had to be withdrawn; but after the Pekin expedition Admiral Alexeieff, the Russian Viceroy of the Far East, invited China to resume the government of Manchuria under Russian protection. Though Japan protested in vain, her position was strengthened by an alliance with England in 1902, the latter promising support if her ally were attacked by more than one Power, in other words, if France joined Russia in the Russo-Japanese conflict which loomed on the horizon.

A few weeks after the conclusion of the alliance a treaty was signed between Russia and China, the former undertaking to evacuate Manchuria in three stages of six months each, the latter to defend Russian interests in that province. It was calculated to relieve Japanese apprehensions, and in the autumn of 1902 the Russians withdrew from the first of the three sections; but in 1903, instead of continuing the evacuation, they demanded new concessions. Supported by England, Japan, and the United States, China refused the demands. At the same moment Russian activity increased in Korea. Russian speculators had obtained a concession to cut timber on the banks of the Yalu, which divides Korea from Manchuria, and influential members of the Russian Court were financially interested in the enterprise. Japan complained that the withdrawal from Manchuria was not being carried out, and suggested a treaty safeguarding Russian interests in Manchuria and defining her own position in Korea. Russia refused to recognize rival claims in Korea, and after several months of negotiation, during which Russian troops were hurried to the Far East, Japan issued an ultimatum in February 1904 and opened hostilities without a declaration of war.

The course of the conflict was watched by the whole world with amazement. Few expected Japan to show such consummate organization, such strategic capacity, such irresistible bravery, while on the other hand few were prepared for the blundering incompetence of the Russian colossus. For the Japanese it was a struggle for clearly defined objects near home, while the Russian people knew nothing of the causes and aims of the distant war. A second advantage for the islanders was that the conflict ranged in part over ground familiar to them since 1894, while Russia's front was 6,000 miles from the base and her troops had to be transported by a single line. At the outset she was discouraged by the destruction or damage of several ships at Port Arthur and Chemulpho. After these initial successes Japanese troops invested Port Arthur, while the main army forced its way across the Yalu into Manchuria, where the Russians were defeated at Liao Yang and on the Sha-ho. The fall of Port Arthur on New Year's Day 1905 set free the besieging army, and after another defeat near Mukden in February the Russians retreated north. The Japanese were too exhausted to follow up their victory, and both combatants watched the slow voyage of the Russian fleet from Europe. As it entered the Straits of Tsushima between Korea and Japan on the way to Vladivostock on 27 May, it was annihilated by Togo. The command of the Pacific was decided in a single day.

The failure of her last card induced Russia to consider the question of peace. Japan, whose financial resources had been strained to the uttermost, was equally anxious to end the struggle, and she secretly requested the good offices of President Roosevelt for this purpose. A fortnight after the Battle of Tsushima representatives were chosen to discuss terms, though

no armistice was concluded, and the Japanese landed a force in the island of Sakhalin. The negotiations opened in the state of Maine in August, and three weeks later peace was signed. The Treaty of Portsmouth recognized the claims of Japan in Korea, ceded the Liao-Tung Peninsula and the southern half of Sakhalin, and provided for the evacuation of Manchuria by Russia, but the attempt to extract an indemnity failed. In the years immediately preceding the war the Powers had been carving up China with their long knives. The ringleader had now been overthrown in single combat, and the achievement thrilled the peoples of Asia with a confidence and self-respect they had never known. The East had shown what it could do: the West was not irresistible. The question was no longer what the white man was willing to leave to the yellow races, but what the yellow races would permit the white man to retain. British sympathies had been on the side of Japan in the Russian war, and the alliance of 1902 was renewed in 1905 and again in 1911 for ten years.

Nowhere was the reverberation of the struggle louder than in China. The reactionary nationalism which had culminated in the Boxer movement gave place to an enthusiasm for Western learning and Western methods. Decrees condemned foot-binding, recommended inter-marriage between Manchus and Chinese, abolished the system of literary examinations for official employment, and forbade torture and mutilation. Railways were built, schools were opened, and large numbers went to study abroad. A Commission was sent to Europe in 1906 to examine the systems of government, and on its return the Dowager Empress announced her intention to grant a Constitution. In 1908 she and the puppet Emperor died within a day of each other. Provincial assemblies, set up in 1909, conducted their business

with dignity and skill. A National Assembly, composed chiefly of officials and nominees, met at Peking in 1910 and demanded that the first Parliament should meet without delay. Almost more remarkable as an evidence of reforming zeal was the crusade against opium. Finally, in 1912, the Manchu dynasty, which had ruled China for three centuries, was deposed, and Yuan Shih-Kai became Provisional President of the Chinese Republic. A Parliament met in 1913, and, after a revolt in the south had been suppressed, elected Yuan as President. The first act of the masterful ruler was to purge Parliament of his opponents and then to dissolve it. For a time it seemed as if the change from Empire to Republic was one rather of form than of substance, but in reality the old picturesque, hidebound, pigtail China was dead.

II

While in the Far East the white man was forced to abandon his territorial ambitions, he continued to dominate India and the Middle East; yet here, too, the sleeper was beginning to awake. Though the Government of India is rarely affected by party changes at Westminster, the personality and ideology of a Viceroy often stamp the period of his rule. Thus Lytton (1876-80) emphasized the might and majesty of British dominion, while Ripon's term (1880-4) was marked by the grant of municipal self-government and the enlarged jurisdiction of Indian judges. His successor, the brilliant Dufferin, was identified neither with imperialism nor with Liberalism. The establishment of Abdurrahman on the throne of Afghanistan had substituted a friendly for an unfriendly neighbour, but the advance of Russia beyond the Caspian continued to inspire alarm. Though an agreement was reached in 1887, the danger led to

the permanent increase of the Indian Army. On the other side of the great dependency an important conquest was effected. The maritime provinces of Burma had been annexed in previous wars, and at the end of 1885 the remainder of the vast and mountainous country was conquered. While the savage rule of King Theebaw was the pretext for intervention, the governing factor was the discovery of his intrigues with French agents and concessionaires. No organized resistance was made, but guerrilla warfare broke out and continued for three years. On its suppression Burma entered on a period of modest prosperity and Rangoon grew into a thriving port.

The main legislative achievement of Dufferin's term was the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, which checked the eviction of the *ryot*, but the most important event was not the work of the Government. The introduction of English literature and English ideas under the auspices of Macaulay half a century earlier had led to the growth of an educated class small in numbers but of considerable influence. In 1885 the first annual National Congress met to discuss questions of common interest. Though a few Mohammedans took part in the movement, its founders were Hindus. Dufferin regarded it as a healthy growth, but his friendly attitude was abandoned by his successors.

Lansdowne's term of office (1888-94) witnessed an important change in the machinery of government. The Queen's Proclamation in 1858 solemnly declared that no one should be debarred from any office by race or creed. A few Indian advisers had been admitted to Legislative Councils after the Mutiny, and Dufferin had suggested an increase in their numbers and powers. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 gave cautious effect to his representations. The nominated members of the

Viceregal and Provincial Councils were increased, the non-official element was strengthened, and the Indian Government was empowered to permit native members to be elected by their fellow citizens. In another field the confidence of the Government was shown by accepting the offers of native chiefs to maintain regiments for imperial service. The Durand Mission to Cabul in 1893 improved relations with Abdurrahman, whose subsidy was raised from £80,000 to £120,000 a year, and it was agreed to determine the boundaries of Russia, India, and Afghanistan. Though his loyalty during subsequent frontier risings was open to suspicion, the relations of the governments remained friendly during his life.

The rule of Elgin (1894-9) was a period of exceptional anxiety. The currency question had long been menacing, for, owing to the increasing production of silver throughout the world, the rupee had rapidly fallen since 1874, when it was worth nearly 2s. The loss to India, which had to find large sums in gold for interest on foreign loans, pensions to British officials, and foreign purchases, was serious. To meet the growing burden it was necessary to increase the salt tax and the income tax, and in 1893 the coinage of silver was restricted. The relief was slight, and Elgin, on his arrival, had to revive revenue duties, that on cotton goods being accompanied by a corresponding excise on Indian products. The rupee fell to 1s. 3d. in 1895, when it again began to rise. In 1899 a gold currency was introduced and the value of the rupee was fixed at 1s. 4d. Though gold thus became the standard of value, silver remained the coinage of the country and legal tender at the fixed rate. At the same time two other harassing problems emerged. In 1896 plague appeared in Bombay and despite all efforts carried off enormous numbers every year. In 1897

a severe famine visited Central India, and even with the institution of gigantic relief works nearly a million lives were lost in British territory. In India, the land of early marriages and primitive agriculture, the population is always pressing on the means of subsistence.

Elgin, like his predecessors, faced grave anxieties on the North-West Frontier. By the Durand Agreement Chitral was declared within the British sphere. In 1895 the native ruler was murdered and the British agent and garrison were besieged. After a heroic defence of seven weeks, the fort was relieved by a British force. The Rosebery Government decided to withdraw from Chitral; but Salisbury, on resuming office, determined to retain it, and ordered the construction of a road through the mountains. A year later the whole frontier was in flames, the mullahs preaching a holy war and the tribesmen watching with anger the extension of the British zone. A rising in 1897 among the Swats, Mohmands, and Afridis became so formidable that an army of 60,000 men was despatched to the Tirah district. By the end of the year the resistance was broken, but it was not till late in 1898 that the conflict was over and the Khyber Pass reopened.

While some viceroys are mere figureheads, Curzon, who arrived in 1899 full of expert knowledge and self-confidence, was the master of India. The first task of the greatest figure on the political stage since Dalhousie was the liquidation of the frontier problem. The British forces were gradually withdrawn from the Khyber and other advanced posts, and their places taken by tribal levies, the tribes being informed that their independence was safe so long as order was maintained. A new Frontier Province was created by separation from the Punjab in 1901, a prudent step followed by several years of peace. In domestic affairs the Viceroyalty

opened badly with a famine in 1900 more costly in life and money than that of 1897, but after its conclusion the financial situation rapidly improved and the hated salt tax was reduced. A Department of Commerce and Industry was established with a representative on the Viceroy's Council. On the advice of Kitchener, the Commander-in-Chief, the distribution of the Army was changed and the troops were furnished with more efficient weapons. A drastic measure was carried to prevent the alienation of land in the Punjab. The condemnation of the police by the Frazer Commission led to a slight increase of pay, but not to the radical reforms that were needed. Steps were taken for the preservation of the glorious monuments of Indian art. Primary schools were increased, and an effort was made to save older students from the moral contagion of city life.

Curzon laboured with energy and devotion, but his method of government resembled that of the Philosophic Despots of the eighteenth century. Though he sternly punished the ill-treatment of Indians by Europeans, he had little sympathy with the political aspirations of educated natives. He boycotted the National Congress, diminished the representative element on the Calcutta Municipal Council, and infuriated the Bengalis by reflections on their truthfulness. Finally, on his return from a holiday in England in 1904, he took a step which led directly to the dangerous crisis of the following years. Bengal had already shed the North-West Provinces and Assam, and a teeming population of over 80 millions made a further partition desirable. Friendly discussions with the leaders of native opinion might possibly have led to a compromise, but the opportunity of readjustment by consent was thrown away. A new province was created in 1905 by a fusion of Assam with a large slice of Eastern Bengal. despite

the passionate protests of the Congress Party. This high-handed action played into the hands of the extremists, who longed to overthrow British rule, and strengthened the desire of the moderates for a larger share of political responsibility.

Curzon's last year witnessed the dispatch of an expedition to Lhasa. The Hermit Kingdom had repulsed advances since the time of Warren Hastings. When Tibetan troops invaded the Protected State of Sikkim in 1886, the Indian Government opened negotiations with China as suzerain of Tibet, and signed a treaty in 1890 establishing commercial posts across the frontier; but the Tibetans refused all intercourse and returned letters unopened. Such contempt seemed to Curzon damaging to British prestige, and when the Dalai Lama engaged in negotiations with Russia he sent an armed mission under Colonel Younghusband across the frontier. The advance was but feebly resisted, the Sacred City was entered, the Dalai Lama fled, and a treaty was made with his successor, providing for a Resident in Lhasa, facilities for trade, and the retention of the Chumbi Valley while an indemnity was paid by instalments. The treaty was substantially modified by the Home Government. When it thus became clear that Great Britain had no desire to intervene in Tibetan affairs, the dormant Chinese suzerainty was vigorously reasserted. China, not India, gained by the Young-husband expedition.

In 1905 Curzon resigned, angrily refusing Kitchener's proposals for the reorganization of the military department, and receiving no support from the Balfour Ministry. His successor, Minto, lacked the knowledge, ability, and energy of his predecessor, but he sympathized with the ideals of educated Indians. The almost simultaneous appointment of John Morley to

the India Office in the Liberal Government of 1905 further emphasized the change from the old order. The Viceroy and Secretary of State agreed as to the need both of generous political concessions and of unflinching repression of violence. Great expectations were aroused among the Congress politicians by the appointment of the distinguished thinker from whom many of them learned the principles of Liberalism, and his refusal to modify the partition of Bengal provoked intense disappointment. The *Swadeshi* movement began, European goods were boycotted in parts of Bengal, and several Europeans were murdered. The Indian Government replied by drastic laws against seditious meetings, the Press, and the use of explosives. Tilak, an intransigent lawyer, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment, and the drastic Regulation of 1818 was applied. The deportation of men of high character and position without charge or trial aroused indignation among Liberals in England and led numbers of Indian politicians to despair of the Government. The National Congress split in two in 1907, the extremists parting company with the moderates represented by Gokhale.

While the campaign of repression was in progress a far-reaching scheme of reform was being elaborated. A bold step was taken in 1909 by the appointment of an Indian barrister as Legal Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and of two Indians to the Council of the Secretary of State in London. The Councils Act of 1909, commonly known as the Morley-Minto reform scheme, was a notable advance on that of 1892. A large addition was made to the membership of the Viceregal and Provincial Legislative Councils, an official majority being retained on the former alone. Special safeguards for the interests of the Mohammedan minority were inserted by its own wish. The Executive

Councils of Madras and Bombay were to be enlarged from two to four, one to be an Indian, and Executive Councils were foreshadowed for the other provinces. Greater latitude was permitted in regard to criticism and debate. The scheme was welcomed both in India and England as wise and generous, and a more hopeful feeling was already manifest when Minto and Morley laid down their burden in 1910. Though they failed to mollify extremists, they opened up a fruitful field of common activity between the bureaucracy and the leaders of native opinion. That Hardinge, the new Viceroy, desired to work the system in the spirit of its authors was shown by his friendliness to the National Congress and his championship of the rights of Indian workers in South Africa and Fiji.

The history of Persia during the period covered in this volume was one of increasing degradation followed by a partially successful attempt at reform. While the Shah Nasreddin was a virile despot, his son Muzaffer-din, who ascended the throne in 1890, was amiable and effeminate, squandering his country's resources in costly journeys to Europe and for the first time incurring a foreign debt. In 1899 the Customs were placed under the control of Belgian officials, and in 1900 and 1902 Russian loans were negotiated. The gradual mortgaging of the country to Russia was watched with jealousy by England and with indignation by the long-suffering Persians. A Constitution had been demanded during the reign of Nasreddin, and in 1891 a passionate outcry greeted the grant of a tobacco monopoly to an English company, which was revoked at the cost of half a million.

Though occasional riots occurred in the provinces there was no further explosion in Teheran till 1905, when a number of merchants and mullahs took sanctuary

in a mosque in protest against the Grand Vizier. The Shah promised to dismiss his hated adviser, but when the protesters withdrew the Minister remained. A second *Bast* occurred in 1906, when about 14,000 citizens took refuge in the grounds of the British Legation. This time the demand was for a Parliament, which the Shah reluctantly granted. A Constitution was drawn up, newspapers and political clubs sprang into life, and the National Assembly met in October. Muzaffer-ed-din died in 1907, and his son, Mohammed Ali, a brutal tyrant who had won an evil reputation as Governor of Tabriz, quickly revealed his hatred of the Constitution. The first Budget cut down pensions and sinecures and turned the annual deficit into a surplus without fresh taxation, but the reduction of the civil list intensified his hostility to the Mejliss (National Assembly). He was only prevented from executing his Ministers by the intervention of the British *chargé d'affaires*, and in 1908 an attempt was made on his life. He fled to his Summer Palace, whence he staged a *coup d'état* with the aid of Liakhoff, a Russian officer in the Persian service in command of the so-called Cossack Brigade. The Parliament House was bombarded, Liakhoff was appointed Military Governor of Teheran, and the reformers fled for their lives. The Constitutionalists held out in Tabriz during the winter, closely invested by the royalist forces. When the fall of the city became imminent Russian troops crossed the frontier to its relief.

When the Constitutional cause seemed to be doomed its fortunes suddenly brightened. Russia had shown that the Shah could no longer hope for her moral support; and the Baktiaris, who had supported the Constitution, now marched north to Teheran, entered the city after fighting, and compelled the hated ruler

to abdicate. His youthful son was placed on the throne, the Mejliss recalled, and the work of reform resumed, but the task was difficult and the actors inexperienced. In 1911 Shuster, an American expert, was invited to control the finances and quickly gained the confidence of the Constitutionalists. Russia, however, who desired a weak government, sabotaged his work and after eight months chased him out of the country by an ultimatum. Large numbers of Russian troops remained in the north, which became in everything but name a Russian province. These high-handed proceedings were denounced by English Liberals and were disapproved by Grey more than he dared to reveal; for the German peril filled the horizon, and a quarrel with Russia over Persia or anything else was out of the question.

Throughout Asia at the turn of the century two currents were clearly visible. On the one hand there was a desire to imitate the West, to learn its secrets, to apply its skill; on the other a determination to retain the traditional way of life, to shape its own destinies. The tendencies met not only in the same nation, but often in the same individual. In some cases a return to older practices was urged by the very men who had drunk most deeply at the springs of Western learning. The awakening of the East was rendered possible by the importation of the ideas and methods of the West, but the enduring result was the affirmation of its own personality.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

THE partition of Africa took place with lightning rapidity during the later decades of the nineteenth century. Four of the six Great Powers of Europe (England, France, Germany, Italy), to say nothing of Belgium, seeking outlets for their population or markets for their trade, turned to the Dark Continent. At Victoria's accession in 1837 European settlements were patches on the coast. At the outbreak of war in 1914 only two independent States, the Empire of Abyssinia and the little negro republic of Liberia, remained like islands in a flood. Yet while the control has passed into white hands, the greater part of Africa is closed to residential colonization by white men by the iron law of Nature.

I

Contrary to the expectation and desire of the Gladstone Ministry on intervening in Egypt on behalf of Ismail's creditors in 1882, the British occupation showed no sign of coming to an end during the period covered in this volume. When Sir Evelyn Baring, afterwards Lord Cromer, arrived in Cairo in 1883 as British Agent, he found a gigantic task awaiting him. Arabi's revolt against the Khedive Tewfik and his foreign masters had been quelled by British troops, but the dislike of European interference remained. The Treasury was empty, the State owed 100 millions, the Administration was utterly corrupt. Turkey watched the settlement of a Great Power in her dependency with jealous eyes, and France waited impatiently for

the promised evacuation. In the year of his arrival an Egyptian force under General Hicks was annihilated by the Mahdi and his fanatical Dervish followers in the Sudan, and in 1884 another force under General Baker was routed. As the Khedivial army was incapable of fighting, General Gordon was sent from England to withdraw the garrisons, but he ruined his chance of success by proclaiming the abandonment of the Sudan and disobeying his orders to retire. He was surrounded and killed in Khartum, which fell in 1885 after a prolonged siege, and the whole Sudan passed into the hands of the Mahdi.

Its loss allowed the British Agent to devote his attention to internal reform. In 1885 he obtained permission from the Powers to raise a loan of 9 millions in order to pay off deficits and extend irrigation. No tax but the tobacco duty was increased, taxation was remitted, railways, canals, and public works were provided out of revenue, and Egyptian credit rose to the level of many European States. A barrage had been built below Cairo to irrigate the Delta, but the foundations were so weak that it was of little use till it had been overhauled by British engineers. In 1898 a gigantic dam was constructed at Assuan, which began to work in 1901 and was subsequently raised. The economic stability of the peasant was strengthened by the provision of agricultural banks, forced labour on public works was reduced to a minimum, and a new source of national wealth was found in the production of cotton.

Efforts to introduce the equipment of a civilized State were made in other directions. The administration of justice began to improve when Sir John Scott was appointed Judicial Adviser in 1891. Egyptian judges proved themselves worthy of their trust, bribes became

less frequent, and torture disappeared. The standard of the police was raised by British inspectors. Public health improved, and travelling eye hospitals reduced the scourge of ophthalmia. Village schools were encouraged by grants-in-aid and technical colleges were instituted.

The military disasters in the Sudan had arisen not only from cowardice and bad leadership, but from the arbitrary methods by which the Egyptian soldiers were recruited. Good pay and good food produced a better tone, and self-confidence was strengthened by the co-operation of British troops. The change wrought by the Sirdars, Evelyn Wood and Kitchener, was shown in the reconquest of the Sudan. Dervish attacks on Egypt were repulsed, and in 1896 the first step was taken by the advance to Dongola. The desert railway was pushed forward, Berber was captured in 1897, and in 1898 the forces of the Khalifa, who had succeeded the Mahdi as ruler of the Dervishes, were defeated at the Atbara River and annihilated outside Omdurman, his capital. The Khalifa fled into Kordofan and was killed in action a year later. Henceforth the Sudan belonged to England and Egypt jointly, though in practice the responsibility for administration and defence rested on the former. The lease of the great Sudanese province of the Bahr-el-Ghazal to the Congo Free State in 1894 was annulled in 1906, and the Lado Enclave, the only district which French jealousies had allowed King Leopold to administer, reverted on his death to Anglo-Egyptian control. Except for some petty revolts the vast area, two-thirds the size of India, enjoyed a period of peace, and the charge on Egyptian revenues steadily decreased. The Red Sea was connected by railway with the Nile, the Egyptian lines were extended to Khartum, and the White Nile was cleared of the *sudd*, which improved navigation.

Though something like a financial miracle had been wrought, the hands of the British Agent were tied by the Commission of the Debt established in 1876. Thus, when it was proposed that Egypt should pay for the reconquest of the Sudan, France and Russia vetoed the scheme and the British Government lent the money. Immense relief was experienced when the Anglo-French Treaty of 1904 secured the withdrawal of all European opposition to the British occupation and gave a free hand in finance. On the other hand the Capitulations or treaty rights possessed by the Powers throughout the Turkish Empire prevented either the taxation or control of the ever-increasing army of European residents. When Cromer resigned in 1907, after twenty-four years of benevolent autocracy, he left the country in the enjoyment of a prosperity greater than it had ever known.

On the material side the work of England in Egypt was highly successful, but the more difficult problem of winning the people remained to be solved. The generation which had suffered from the extravagance of Ismail was dying out, and the increased prosperity of the peasant was partially discounted by a rise in the cost of living. Educated Egyptians resented continued domination by foreigners who had promised to withdraw. The Legislative Council and the General Assembly instituted by Dufferin in 1883 never possessed real authority. On the death of the gentle Tewfik in 1892 his more temperamental son Abbas vainly endeavoured to assert himself by choosing his Ministers, and the Nationalist movement grew rapidly in the last years of Cromer's rule. Gorst, who succeeded Cromer, was prepared to go further towards meeting the wishes of moderate nationalism than his former chief, but British residents protested that his concessions were weakening British

prestige. So threatening did the situation become that in 1910 Grey announced that there was no intention of evacuating Egypt and that attacks on the Government would be sternly repressed. After this declaration the situation became outwardly more tranquil, though Abbas never pretended to be a friend. Gorst was succeeded in 1911 by Kitchener, who granted a more democratic constitution and displayed the keenest interest in the welfare of the *fellaheen*. He spoke Arabic, liked the Arabs, was easy of approach, and won their confidence in return.

II

Though the ambitions of France were frustrated on the Upper Nile, the huge north-west shoulder of the Dark Continent was firmly in her grasp. Algeria was conquered by Louis Philippe, Tunis became a Protectorate in 1881, and the Treaty of Algeciras recognized her special position in Morocco in 1906. A series of outrages led in 1907 to the occupation of Udja, near the Algerian frontier, and of Casablanca and the Shawia district on the Atlantic coast. In 1911, as a result of the Agadir crisis, France bought off German claims in Morocco by a slice of the French Congo, and in 1912 she reached an agreement with Spain. The new Protectorate was wisely guided through its early years by Marshal Lyautey.

An advance into the interior from Senegal was undertaken by Faïdherbe during the Second Empire, and 1880 witnessed a further move to the Upper Niger, though Timbuctoo was not occupied till 1903. When the general scramble for Africa commenced, France resolved to secure a foothold on the Guinea Coast. The Ivory Coast was annexed in 1891, and in 1892

the little kingdom of Dahomey was conquered. Meanwhile, desiring that no European Power should drive a wedge between her new empire on the Niger and her Mediterranean colonies, France obtained in 1890 British recognition of her sphere of influence as far east as Lake Chad.

Further south, French settlements had existed on the Congo coast since Louis Philippe. During the early years of the Third Republic, De Brazza pushed far into the interior simultaneously with Stanley, keeping mainly to the northern bank of the great river. When the Berlin Conference of 1885 created the Congo Free State, France insisted on a large part of the western and northern watershed. Starting from their new colony the French Congo, missions pushed north to Lake Chad, thus opening up an all-French route from Central Africa to the Mediterranean. By the Anglo-French Convention of 1899 Great Britain recognized French claims to Wadai. Thus, with the exception of Liberia and the European coastal colonies, the whole of north-west Africa from Tunis to the Congo, from Senegal to Lake Chad, was scheduled as the French sphere of influence. France had become in mileage the greatest African Power; but part of her claim was unconquered and unexplored, while the Sahara could scarcely be reckoned as a marketable asset. On the other side of Africa she annexed Madagascar. A protectorate was established over the island in 1885 after severe fighting; but the inhabitants refused to acquiesce, and the final step was taken in 1895, when a French army landed and captured the capital, Antananarivo. The Queen was deposed and in 1896 the island became a French colony.

The largest state in Central Africa is the Belgian Congo. From the beginning of his reign King Leopold,

conscious of his abilities and fretting in his narrow cage, had followed the exploration of the Dark Continent with passionate interest. At his invitation a Geographical Congress assembled at Brussels in 1876, from which arose an International Association for the Civilization of Central Africa, with himself as President. Each nation was to undertake a section of the work, but the national committees became independent, and the Association itself was soon a purely Belgian body. Stanley's journey from the Indian Ocean to the Great Lakes, and from the Great Lakes along the Congo to the Atlantic (1874-7), riveted the King's attention on the Congo Basin. A Committee for the Study of the Upper Congo was founded, and in 1879 Stanley was dispatched by him to conclude treaties with the chiefs. In 1884, when forty stations had been founded and steamers plied on the mighty river, the Committee changed its name to the International Association of the Congo and was recognized by the United States. At this moment the new state was threatened by a grave danger, for Portugal persuaded Great Britain to recognize her claims over the mouth of the river. Leopold immediately concluded an agreement with France, offering the pre-emption of his territory in return for French recognition. Bismarck added his protest, and the Anglo-Portuguese treaty remained unratified. Germany now recognized the Congo state, and issued invitations to a Conference at Berlin to discuss questions of African colonization. The Conference recognized the Congo state, the King undertaking to ameliorate the condition of the natives and to allow freedom of commerce.

A year or two after reaching the summit of his ambition Leopold began to betray his trust. Unoccupied land was declared to belong to the State.

Companies received concessions to collect rubber and paid half the profits to the King. In 1891 permission was given by the Powers to levy import duties, and practically the whole trade of the country was soon a Belgian monopoly. The most valuable parts of the territory were appropriated as the *Domaine de la Couronne*. Shameful cruelties were committed. A crushing tribute of rubber was demanded from the villages, and among the penalties for non-payment was mutilation. The vast country was ruled by ill-paid and uncontrolled officials. A railway was built from the coast to Stanley Pool, where the river enters the rapids, and some of the more obvious necessities of civilization were introduced into the towns, but the régime was one of ruthless exploitation. Harrowing tales were sent home by the missionaries and confirmed by the official report of Roger Casement, British Consul at Boma. Meanwhile the Aborigines Protection Society urged the British Government in 1896 to take action, and in 1897 Dilke demanded an International Conference to save the natives. When the British Government refused to act the Congo Reform Association was founded with Morel as secretary. In 1903 Lansdowne formally called the attention of the signatories of the Berlin Act to the breaches of its provisions. Leopold challenged their right to intervene, and it was hinted that British action was prompted by selfish aims.

Though the proceeds of 'Red Rubber' embellished Brussels and Ostend, and Belgium was made heir to a vast colonial empire by the King's will of 1889, the voice of criticism was at last raised by Vandervelde, the Socialist leader. The assent of the Belgian Parliament to the King's assumption of the sovereignty in 1885 had been given without enthusiasm, and when made his heir the Belgian Government reluctantly advanced

a million pounds in return for power to annex after ten years. When further assistance was needed in 1895 it proposed to annex at once, but public opinion was hostile and the project dropped. Criticism at home and abroad became so insistent that in 1904 the King appointed a Commission of Inquiry. Its report revealed such deplorable conditions that sweeping reforms were promised and in 1906 annexation began to be discussed. A treaty was concluded in 1907 by which the Congo state was transferred to Belgium, but the opposition to the retention of the *Domaine de la Couronne* led to an additional Act in 1908 providing for its purchase. With the death of Leopold and the accession of his nephew Albert in 1909 a brighter era dawned. A new system of government was announced, the abolition of forced labour was promised, and the Congo Basin was gradually opened to foreign trade. France and Germany at once recognized the transfer, but the British and American Governments deferred recognition till they were satisfied that the abuses had disappeared.

The four German colonies in Africa dated from the scramble of 1884. The first definite step was taken in the south-west, where German missionaries had worked among the Damaras and Herreros. In 1883 Lüderitz, a Bremen merchant, established a trading station at Angra Pequena in Damaraland, and, after waiting to see if Great Britain claimed that territory, Bismarck declared the coast from Angola to Cape Colony under German protection in 1884. During the same summer Togoland, a small territory to the east of the British Gold Coast, and the Cameroons, a large tract in the bend of the Gulf of Guinea which ultimately extended inland as far as Lake Chad, were declared German protectorates.

In the autumn of 1884 Peters, the German Rhodes,

landed at Zanzibar. Pushing into the interior he signed treaties with the chiefs and founded the German East African Company, to which the German Government granted a charter. In 1886 the respective spheres of Great Britain, Germany, and Zanzibar were delimited. The Company was too weak to repress a dangerous revolt among the Arabs in 1888, and an Imperial Commissioner was sent to take control. In 1890 Germany recognized a British Protectorate over Zanzibar in return for the cession of Heligoland and carried her frontier to the Congo state. From that time German East Africa had a fairly prosperous career. The fortunes of German South-west Africa were more chequered. Conflict with the Hottentots filled the first decade, and after a peaceful interval a formidable rebellion broke out in 1903 among the Herreros in the north which was not quelled till 1908.

The Portuguese colonies, the oldest settlements in the Dark Continent, were passed in the race, and a bold attempt to connect Mozambique with Angola brought an ultimatum from Great Britain in 1890. Despite this severe rebuff a measure of prosperity came with the railways into the interior, Delagoa Bay forming the gate of the Transvaal and Beira an outlet for Rhodesia. On the west coast Angola was the scene of raids for the supply of labour for the cocoa plantations on the islands of Principe and San Thomé which led to loud and justifiable British protests.

The growth of British territory in Central Africa was scarcely less rapid than in the north and the south. On the west coast Ashanti was annexed in 1896, but by far the greatest achievement was the building up of Nigeria, which before long stretched inland to the shores of Lake Chad. In 1879 Goldie amalgamated the British firms trading on the Niger into the United African

Company, and two French companies were bought out before the meeting of the Berlin Conference in 1885 which approved the British claim to a protectorate. In 1885 a treaty with the Sultan of Sokoto secured to the Company the trading rights of that thickly populated country and the control of its foreign relations. A charter was granted to the Royal Niger Company in 1886 with control over the banks of the river, while in 1893 the outlying districts both east and west were organized as a protectorate under the Crown. A brisk competition with France for influence on the Middle Niger continued till the respective spheres were settled in 1898. By 1899 the task had outgrown the strength of the Chartered Company, which was bought out by the Crown and became Northern Nigeria. The Niger Coast Protectorate became Southern Nigeria which was united to Lagos in 1906. In 1911 the railway reached Kano, 900 miles from the sea.

The East African Convention between Great Britain and Germany in 1886 did not prevent friction in the hinterland. In 1890 Peters entered Uganda and persuaded the King to place himself under German protection, but in the same year Germany surrendered her claim. The British East Africa Company, which had received a charter in 1887, found the new territory too great a burden and gave notice of withdrawal in 1892. Sir Gerald Portal was sent out by the Gladstone Government to report on the situation in 1893, and by his advice Uganda was retained and a protectorate proclaimed in 1894. In 1896 the Company sold its rights to the Imperial authorities and the British East Africa Protectorate was constituted. The Uganda Railway, begun in 1896, reached Victoria Nyanza in 1909. Though Mombasa and the coastline were unhealthy, Nairobi and the highlands proved well suited to

European residents. Farther north the Imperial Government withdrew from the interior of Somaliland in 1910 after a decade of unprofitable strife.

III

The most important event in the recent history of South Africa is the building up of a great empire under the British flag. The premature annexation of the Transvaal in 1877 led to a successful revolt of the Boers in 1881 and to a legacy of racial hostility. The discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 was followed by a rapid influx of Europeans into the conservative farming community of the Transvaal. A great cosmopolitan city arose at Johannesburg within forty miles of Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal. Fearing that the immigrants would destroy their way of life, the Boers excluded the newcomers, whom they regarded as mere birds of passage, from any share in the political life of the country. Had the Government been reasonably efficient the anomaly might have been tolerated, but the régime of President Kruger was corrupt and reactionary. In vain did Lord Loch, the High Commissioner, visit Pretoria in 1894 and warn the President that he must make concessions. In the following year the Netherlands Railway Company raised their charges so high that the Cape traders sent their goods by wagon across the Vaal River. Kruger retaliated by closing the ford, but yielded to a British ultimatum.

While the old President stood out as the unbending champion of Boer traditions, Rhodes emerged as the dynamic representative of British claims and ideals. Having gone to South Africa for his health in 1870, he rapidly made his fortune in the diamond mines at

Kimberley. Entering the Cape Parliament in 1884 he began to win converts for his grandiose visions of expansion. By his advice the Imperial Government kept open the road to the north by dispatching an expedition in 1884 to evict the Transvaal Boers who had settled in Bechuanaland. Southern Bechuanaland became a Crown Colony and the North a Protectorate.

In 1888 Lobengula, King of the Matabele, granted a concession of mineral rights to Rhodes's agents. In 1889 Rhodes founded the British South Africa Company for the development of the interior, dreaming of a dominion that should stretch to the Zambesi and beyond. In 1890 a pioneer expedition set forth and a fort was established at Salisbury in Mashonaland. The Transvaal withdrew its claim to the north of the Limpopo River; and in 1891 an Anglo-Portuguese treaty was signed recognizing Portuguese rights over the coast district of the Zambesi and British rights over Matabeleland, Mashonaland, and the district beyond the great river. Part of the latter territory was entrusted to the Chartered Company under the name of Northern Rhodesia. A Protectorate was declared over Nyasaland, which in 1893 received the name of British Central Africa and in 1907 that of the Nyasaland Protectorate.

The first crisis in the fortunes of the Chartered Company occurred in 1893 when the Matabele attacked the scattered settlers. The Company was victorious, Bulawayo, their capital, was taken, and Lobengula fled. A final revolt, mainly due to harsh treatment of the natives, broke out in 1896, but was terminated by a visit of Rhodes to the Matabele camp. A year later the railway reached Bulawayo, and an outlet to the east coast was effected by a line from Salisbury to Beira. In 1905 the railway crossed the Zambesi, and the vast,

thinly-populated regions beyond were divided into North-west and North-east Rhodesia, the former stretching to the Congo state, the latter to German East Africa and Lake Tanganyika.

In 1895 Rhodes was the most successful as well as the most striking personality in South Africa. He was master of Kimberley, Prime Minister of Cape Colony, founder of Rhodesia, largely interested in the Rand mines, and on excellent terms with Hofmeyr and the Dutch Bond. Yet by a single false move he shattered his power and revived racial discord. Despairing of obtaining the redress of their grievances from Pretoria, the Outlanders in Johannesburg determined to take the law into their own hands. Rhodes offered the help of the Chartered Company's mounted police, whom he held in readiness on the western frontier. His devoted friend, Dr. Jameson, their commander, was supplied with a letter pretending that British women and children were in danger and summoning him to their defence, but differences arose as to what flag should be raised if the Outlander rising were successful. Before agreement had been reached and without informing Rhodes Jameson crossed the frontier on 29 December and was quickly compelled to surrender.

The whole of South Africa was convulsed by the Raid and the Dutch realized that they must stand together. Kruger's reactionary system had become abhorrent to the progressive Boers, and in the Presidential election of 1894 he had only won by a narrow majority, but the Raid made him the symbol of national independence. At the next election he obtained an immense majority, and in 1897 a military alliance was formed with the Orange Free State. At the same time the Transvaal began to order large quantities of guns and ammunition from Europe. The country had been

treacherously annexed in 1877 and treacherously attacked in 1895, and it seemed to the Dutch common prudence to be prepared for a further surprise.

The mischief of the Raid was increased by the failure of the South Africa Committee in London in 1897 to insist on the production of all the relevant documents and by the refusal of the British Government to punish Rhodes. The Dutch believed that the Colonial Office had known of the conspiracy and that the missing telegrams would have proved it. The relations of the two races grew steadily worse and both camps began to speak of a war for the supremacy of South Africa. The situation demanded tact if a rupture was to be avoided, but tact was conspicuous by its absence. Kruger was old, obstinate, and narrow-minded. Chamberlain was temperamentally unfitted for the delicate tasks of diplomacy, and his assertion of British suzerainty in a form apparently at variance with Lord Derby's concessions in the London Convention of 1884 was needlessly provocative. The situation was rendered still more critical by the sharp tongue of Milner, who was appointed High Commissioner in 1897. A monster petition from the Outlanders to the British Government early in 1899 extracted a promise of intervention. Kruger and Milner met at Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State, in May, but neither was in a mood for compromise. The fruitless discussion of naturalization and franchise reforms lasted through the summer. In September troops were dispatched from England and India, and on 9 October the Transvaal Government issued an ultimatum. The responsibility for the war must be divided. A large share obviously falls to Kruger; but as Krugerism was waning when the Raid gave it a new lease of life, the share of Rhodes must be pronounced as great. Even after the Raid

a more tactful diplomacy in Downing Street and Cape Town might perhaps have averted the conflict.

The war began with the invasion of Natal, where the British troops fell back before superior numbers to Ladysmith. At the same time Mafeking and Kimberley were invested, and Cape Colony was invaded. With the arrival of Buller the British forces undertook the offensive, and the second stage of the war began. Methuen marched to the relief of Kimberley, but was hurled back at Magersfontein on 10 December; on the same day Gatacre was defeated at Stormberg; and at the end of the week Buller's attempt to cross the Tugela at Colenso was repulsed by Botha who had become Commander-in-Chief on the death of Joubert. The triple defeat revealed the magnitude of the struggle. The veteran Roberts was appointed to the supreme command with Kitchener to assist him, and the Colonies dispatched volunteers. The third stage was reached when French's cavalry, making a detour of the Boer camp, relieved Kimberley, and Cronje, placed between two fires, fled from his entrenchments and surrendered at Paardeberg. The capture of Cronje in February 1900 was the turning-point. The Free State was quickly overrun and Bloemfontein was occupied. At the end of the same month Buller relieved Ladysmith and cleared Natal. Mafeking, heroically defended by Baden-Powell, was relieved in May, and in June Roberts occupied Johannesburg and Pretoria. Kruger fled to Europe, and the war entered on its fourth and final stage, in which the Boers fought not for victory, but for honour, and De Wet revealed his skill as a guerrilla chief. The prolonged struggle brought increasing embitterment, but neither overwhelming numbers, nor systematic devastation of the country, nor the high mortality among the children herded in the concentration camps secured the

unconditional surrender which Milner desired to demand. The Treaty of Vereeniging, signed in May 1902, while registering the loss of their independence, granted terms which brave men could accept without humiliation.

The prolonged conflict turned a large part of South Africa into a desert. The Boer prisoners were brought back from India and St. Helena, and assisted by grants and loans. The mining community returned to Johannesburg, but the mine-owners, finding a difficulty in obtaining native labour at the wages paid before the war, prevailed on the Balfour Government to import Chinese coolies. The victory of the Liberal Party in 1906 was followed by important changes. The further importation of Chinese was forbidden and full self-government was granted to the two conquered republics. The generosity of the act struck the imagination of the world, and Campbell-Bannerman's conviction that self-government alone could heal the wounds of war was justified by events. Racial bitterness decreased when British and Dutch found themselves co-operating in the task of reconstruction. The Transvaal elections made General Botha Premier with a composite Cabinet. The Chinese, whose outbreaks had caused terror in the environs of Johannesburg, were gradually repatriated, and their departure was followed by an increase in the output of the mines.

Attention soon turned to a problem of more than local importance. There were now four self-governing colonies the interests of which touched at many points. Questions of tariffs, railways, and immigration invited common action, and the greatest of all problems, that of the native races, suggested the union of the whites for counsel and defence. A Convention met at Durban and later at Cape Town in 1908-9 and framed a Constitution, not federal but unitary, which was accepted

by the four colonies and approved by the British Parliament. Botha, who was invited to form the first Ministry, obtained a working majority at the elections, and the Union Parliament was opened in Cape Town in 1910. The capital remained at Pretoria and the Supreme Court was established at Bloemfontein.

Botha was hampered by divisions in his party, and in 1912 Hertzog, the leader of the extreme Africanders, was dismissed from the Cabinet. After a prolonged struggle in Parliament he and his followers were outvoted at a party Congress and seceded. During the following years South Africa was ruled by a combination of British and Dutch moderates. The Dutch split facilitated the substitution of political for racial lines of cleavage. The Government had also to face labour unrest culminating in strikes of the Johannesburg miners in 1913. In the same year the Indians in Natal revolted against the Immigrants' Regulation Act, which, while offering certain concessions, retained the restrictions on movement and the £3 tax on those who remained in the country at the expiration of their indenture. The millions of natives gave no trouble, though little was done for their education or welfare. The conception of trusteeship was still in its infancy.

CHAPTER IX

THE NEW WORLD

I

THE war of 1861-5 between North and South was followed by a rapid restoration of prosperity in the United States and by the long supremacy of the party under whose auspices the victory had been won. But the monopoly of power during the period of reconstruction demoralized the Republicans. Grant failed as conspicuously in the White House as he had shone on the battlefield, and a lax spirit invaded the administration. A demand for new methods began to make itself heard under Garfield, elected in 1880, and it was weariness rather than enthusiasm for the Democrats which decided the election of 1884. The Republican candidate, Blaine, was believed to have used his position as Speaker of the House of Representatives to enrich himself by dealings with the corporations, and the Mugwumps or reforming Republicans voted for Cleveland.

The new President was confronted by a formidable task. His Mugwump supporters urged him to stand above party; but he was determined to act as a Democrat, and he introduced large numbers of Democrats into the Civil Service which had been a Republican preserve for a generation. As the Senate was hostile, controversial legislation and a free hand in foreign policy were impossible, yet Cleveland stamped his individuality on the life of the country. His sturdy independence was shown by his veto on bills to extend pensions to the survivors or dependants of those who had fought in the Civil War.

Cleveland's gravest problem was labour discontent. In the early days of Californian development Chinese labourers had played a useful part; but as their numbers increased the dangers of a large alien population, which could not be Americanized and whose low standard of living threatened to undercut the American workman, became apparent. In 1882 Chinese immigration was forbidden for ten years, and in 1888 the exclusion was made permanent at the instance of the Pacific states, where riotous attacks on the Chinese quarters were frequent. But it was not only in the West that troubles arose. The Knights of Labour numbered over half a million and had grown to be a power in the land. In 1886 a serious conflict with the police in Chicago produced a reaction against lawlessness. The Knights were touched with anarchy and the loosely knit structure crumbled to pieces, its place being taken by the American Federation of Labour. Cleveland traced economic discontent in large measure to the high tariff imposed during the Civil War, and in 1887 he devoted his annual Message to the subject. A wholesale reduction of duties passed the House but was rejected in the Senate. In the Presidential campaign of 1888 Harrison obtained a small majority, and the Republicans regained control of the House of Representatives, but the country had learned that it could turn to the Democrats in case of need.

Though the wounds of the Civil War had rapidly healed, a wide divergence of opinion separated the south and west from the north-eastern states. It was the difference between an agricultural and an industrial population. The former wished for a paper or silver currency to facilitate business exchange, resented the power of the railways and corporations, and believed that the small farmer and trader were being sacrificed

to their great competitors. The Democrats, drawing their strength from the west and south, were the chief champions of currency changes, but the Republicans were unwilling to be outdone. In 1890 the Sherman Act compelled the Treasury to buy $4\frac{1}{2}$ million ounces of silver monthly, paying for it in Treasury notes redeemable on demand in gold or silver coin, and, when redeemed, to be reissued. The measure did not satisfy the advocates of sound money, but was accepted by them in order to avoid a bill for the free coinage of silver at sixteen to one. In the same year a law to restrain trusts was carried, and the McKinley tariff largely increased the duties on imports.

Harrison was a mediocrity, Blaine, his brilliant Secretary of State, inspired no confidence, and in 1892 Cleveland was elected for a second time. A candidate of the new People's Party received over a million votes. The Populists maintained that the nation was on the verge of moral and material ruin, the result of capitalist oppression: the remedies were to be free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, a graduated income tax, State ownership of railways, and State loans to the people. Many members of the older parties also favoured the demand that gold, silver, and paper should be equally valid. Cleveland, on the other hand, denounced all tampering with the standards of value. During his first presidency he had vainly urged the suspension of compulsory coinage of 2 to 4 million silver dollars monthly imposed in 1878 on the ground that they were worth less than their face value as compared with gold, that less than a quarter of them had found their way into circulation, and that as they were legal tender they were quickly returned to the Treasury. The situation had been rendered worse by the Sherman Act. There was now outstanding a mass of notes which,

when redeemed, had to be reissued. The hoarding of gold increased and it was difficult to obtain money for current business. If the Government ceased to pay in gold, silver would become the standard, property would lose half its value, and credit would collapse. In 1893 the situation became critical, and on his inauguration Cleveland called a special session of Congress, demanding the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman Act. The Senate delayed the Bill for weeks, while business was paralysed, but at last it gave way.

Cleveland's problem was the revision of the tariff. The free list was largely extended and the rates were generally reduced and based on value, but the Senate raised the duties and removed several articles from the free list. The House accepted the mutilated measure in default of anything better, and Cleveland allowed the Wilson tariff to become law without his signature. To meet the loss on the customs an income tax was imposed, but though it had been in operation during the Civil War it was now declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The financial position was thus precarious, and Cleveland desired to stop the endless demand for gold by ceasing to reissue notes when redeemed. Though both Houses were Democratic for the first time since the Civil War, they were filled with silver men who blocked the proposal. It was a time of depression and unrest, and men sought anxiously for remedies. Armies of unemployed marched through the country and strikes broke out. The workers of the Pullman Company at Chicago tried to prevent the use of the cars. When traffic was interrupted the President intervened on the ground that the mails were being hindered and interstate commerce blocked. Federal troops were sent and order was quickly restored.

In foreign affairs Cleveland's second Presidency was

unpleasantly eventful. The Hawaiian isles, which possessed growing commercial and strategic importance, were ruled by a native Queen whose authority had gradually been reduced to a shadow by American settlers. In 1876 a reciprocity treaty bound the islands to America by close economic ties. In 1884 the United States leased a naval station. In 1887 the suffrage was granted to the white settlers. In 1893 the Queen abolished the Constitution and restored the control of the Crown. A revolution broke out, forces were landed from an American warship, and a Provisional Government was established. The American Minister proclaimed a Protectorate on his own initiative, and Harrison sent an annexation treaty to the Senate. A fortnight later Cleveland became President, withdrew the treaty, and repudiated the Minister. But as the Queen would not consent to an amnesty as a condition of her restoration, the Provisional Government remained in power and the islands were annexed in 1898.

Cleveland had no desire to assume new responsibilities in the Pacific, but he was determined to defend the claims of the United States on the mainland. The boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela had never been fixed, and the discovery of gold in the disputed territory rendered a settlement urgent. When repeated discussions led to no result, he offered mediation in 1895, and Olney, his Secretary of State, demanded arbitration. Asserting that the United States were 'paramount on the American Continent', he declared that the Monroe Doctrine 'entitled and required' intervention. Salisbury refused unrestricted arbitration, adding that the Doctrine was inapplicable to the controversy and was in any case no part of international law. Cleveland replied by a Message announcing that he would appoint a Commission of Inquiry and enforce

its decisions, whatever they might be. The response to this truculent assertion of American claims was instantaneous and a wave of warlike enthusiasm swept over the States. The British Government, amazed at the Message, consented to an arbitration which resulted in establishing the essentials of the British case.

The world only awoke to the full significance of the Monroe Doctrine when it discovered that the United States were ready to go to war about the boundary of Venezuela. When the danger arose in 1823 of the Holy Alliance assisting Spain to recover her revolting colonies in the New World, President Monroe, with Canning behind him, declared that America was 'henceforth not to be considered as subject to colonization by any European Power'. The declaration rested on the idea of a natural separation between the Old and the New World which had inspired the warning against alliances in Washington's farewell address; asserted the right of free peoples to determine their own destinies; and proclaimed the principle of 'America for the Americans'. What Bismarck described as an international impertinence was the corner-stone of the foreign policy of the United States. The Mexican Empire erected by Napoleon III was only rendered possible by the Civil War, and when the conflict was over it received notice to quit. As the United States increased in strength the scope of the declaration was widened. While Monroe had declared that there would be no interference with existing colonies, Grant spoke as if their connection with Europe should cease, and the Olney dispatch carried the doctrine a stage forward. After being brought within sight of war the United States and Great Britain became much more friendly. Before his peremptory Message Cleveland had suggested a general treaty of arbitration, and the Venezuela quarrel increased

his desire for it. The two Governments signed a treaty in 1897, but the two-thirds majority in the Senate was not forthcoming.

With the end of Cleveland's second term American politics entered on a new phase. His party had broken away from him, and the election of 1896 revealed the strength of the new forces. The agricultural states of the south and west, still suffering severely, clamoured for free silver. Business was scarcely less depressed. Money was scarce, it was said, because the Government insisted on the gold standard, though gold was too scarce to be the sole medium of exchange. It was often argued that the stagnation could be relieved by the free coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. Many Republicans were converted, but the party as a whole resisted the appeal. The Democratic Convention, on the other hand, nominated Bryan, a young lawyer from Nebraska, on the strength of a brilliant speech voicing the spirit of passionate revolt by which the assembly was moved. His phrase, 'We will not be crucified on a cross of gold', became the slogan of the campaign. While the Populists and Free Silver Republicans supported him, the Conservative Democrats threw off their allegiance. Though multitudes saw in him a new messiah the cautious elements in the country prevailed. McKinley was elected and a Republican majority was returned in both Houses. The enormous output of gold in South Africa banished the fear of a deficiency in the circulating medium, and a series of good harvests restored prosperity to agriculture. An Act was passed for the preservation of the gold standard, and a large gold reserve was established. To meet the need of revenue the Dingley tariff was hurried through Congress in 1897.

The new President was confronted with problems

which had played no part in the electoral campaign. The renewal of the insurrection in Cuba in 1895 and its savage repression by Weyler had deeply stirred opinion, and in his annual Message in 1896 Cleveland threatened intervention. American interests were very large and the great island was being steadily ruined. In 1897 McKinley formally requested Spain to restore order. When the *Maine* was blown up in the harbour of Havana the country clamoured for war, though the cause of the catastrophe was obscure. McKinley had no desire for a conflict, yet he made no attempt to avert it. Congress declared the Cubans free and independent, authorized the President to terminate Spanish rule, and recorded its resolution not to annex Cuba. The United States was totally unprepared for the struggle: the Army was only 27,000 strong and the chief burden fell on volunteers. The Navy, on the other hand, though small, was efficient. One Spanish fleet was destroyed in Manila Bay without the loss of a single American life, and another in a dash from Santiago in which only one American was killed. At the end of July Spain sued for peace. Only one minor battle had been fought on land.

At this moment Admiral Dewey was proposing to attack Manila, and had arranged with Aguinaldo, who had recently led the Filipinos in revolt, to co-operate from the land side. The day after the armistice was signed at Washington, Manila was captured. Spain vainly resisted the cession of the Philippines, which had not been conquered, but the blow was softened by the payment of \$20,000,000. The Commissioners of the Powers met at Paris in October. The peace treaty gave Cuba to the Cubans, Porto Rico and the Philippines to the victors. The war of deliverance had turned into a war of aggrandisement. New markets were needed,

and the Philippines offered a foothold in the East, to which the Powers were turning their eyes.

The enthusiasm of empire disappeared almost as rapidly as it had arisen. Aguinaldo had been brought from Hong-Kong in an American vessel and treated as an ally, and he had believed that the Americans were helping his fellow countrymen to gain their freedom. When they learned that they had only changed their masters they proclaimed a republic. A revolt broke out in 1899 which required several campaigns to suppress. The Democrats declared that a breach of faith had been committed, but no one desired to see the islands occupied by Germany or Japan. Though heroic efforts were made to educate the Filipinos and prepare them for ultimate self-government, they felt no gratitude and clamoured for independence. The expense of the occupation was enormous. A year or two after the war, in the words of Bryce, the one party no longer claimed any credit for the conquest, and the other could not suggest how to get rid of it. With Cuba there was less trouble. A Cuban Republic was established and the relations of the two countries were settled by treaty in 1903. Cuba undertook not to allow the interference of any foreign Power, while the United States reserved the right to intervene for the preservation of independence and the maintenance of order. Intervention became necessary on the latter ground in 1906, and the island was ruled by an American Governor till 1909, when independence was restored.

The Presidential Election of 1900 found the Republicans even stronger than in 1896, for as business improved the silver cry lost its appeal. Bryan stood on the same platform as before, but there was far less excitement and McKinley won by a larger majority. A year later he was assassinated and Theodore

Roosevelt, the Vice-President, grasped the helm. McKinley lacked energy and thought it his duty to follow opinion. His successor, a born leader of men, believed in Presidential initiatives. After an apprenticeship in the New York legislature he had learned to know the Middle West as a rancher, and had displayed capacity as the head of the New York police. He had raised a regiment of rough-riders for the campaign in Cuba and shared with the admirals the honours of the conflict. On his return he had become Governor of New York. Called unexpectedly to the White House in 1901 at the age of forty-two, he entered on seven years of almost personal rule. In 1902 he began to insist on the necessity of legislation to control the trusts, and his mediation in a strike of coal-miners in Pennsylvania increased his popularity. Though the Republican bosses were indignant at his attacks on wealthy interests which supported the party, his bold attitude was generally welcomed. His attentions to Booker Washington, the most eminent coloured citizen of his time, pleased the best elements in the country at a time when race riots were disgracing the southern states.

The acquisition of a colonial empire in the Atlantic and Pacific rendered the rapid concentration of the Fleet essential. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 provided that if a canal were made it should not be under the exclusive control of any Power. In 1881 Secretary Blaine had vainly suggested to the British Government that the treaty should be modified, but nothing could be done till relations improved. England openly sympathized with the United States in the Spanish war of 1898, and it was widely believed that she had averted joint European intervention. The seal was set on their reconciliation in 1901 when she recognized the right of the United States to construct and fortify a canal under

their own exclusive jurisdiction, and the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was followed by the purchase of all rights and concessions from the discredited French Panama Company. Negotiations with Colombia as to the juridical status of the canal proving fruitless, the district of Panama at Roosevelt's instigation declared its independence in 1903 and was immediately recognized by Washington. A strip of land across the peninsula ten miles wide was granted to the United States in return for a payment of 2 millions and an annual subsidy. Construction began at once and the canal was opened in 1914.

The election of 1904 confirmed Roosevelt in the position to which he had been called in 1901. The most striking achievement of his second term was his mediation between Russia and Japan in 1905; but the rapid influx of Japanese into the Pacific states after the war led to ugly manifestations and to the exclusion of Japanese children from Californian schools. State and federal interests were in conflict. The despatch of the fleet for a cruise in the Pacific indicated tension, but the Governments remained cool, and Japan undertook to restrict settlement in America, despite her treaty rights. At the same time a stricter attitude was adopted towards white immigrants. The influx of English and Irish, Germans and Scandinavians had rapidly declined, while enormous numbers from the south and east of Europe now crossed the Atlantic every year. The apprehensions aroused by the arrival of culturally inferior types led Congress in 1906 to make a knowledge of English necessary for naturalization and in 1907 to increase the restrictions imposed on the invading army at Ellis Island. The end of Roosevelt's term was darkened by widespread distress. The earthquake which destroyed San Francisco in 1906 was followed by

the Stock Exchange crisis of 1907 in which most banks suspended payments for many weeks. The President's feud with the trusts and the bosses increased in bitterness, and Wall Street lost no opportunity of denouncing his policy. Of a less controversial character were his statesmanlike efforts to conserve the fertility of the soil.

Roosevelt's friend and colleague Taft was elected in 1908, Bryan being defeated for the third time. The new President was expected by his old chief to continue his policy, but he was much more conservative. While the business world rejoiced in the prospect of less interference, the progressive elements in the Republican Party became restive. The Payne-Aldrich tariff brought no real reduction and was vigorously attacked by the insurgents. The confusion in the Republican ranks was intensified when Roosevelt returned from a triumphant tour in Europe in the summer of 1910 and, in his own phrase, threw his hat into the ring.

At the election of 1912 the splitting of the Republican vote between Taft and Roosevelt secured the victory of Woodrow Wilson, Governor of New Jersey, a distinguished historian and publicist. In his first year of office the new Democratic President, who appointed Bryan his Secretary of State, reduced the tariff, reformed the currency laws, refused recognition to Huerta, who had climbed to power in Mexico over the corpse of his predecessor, and secured the repeal of a law exempting American coastal traffic from tolls in the Panama canal on the ground that it infringed the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901 and alienated British opinion. Wilson had his critics, but his energy, courage and fidelity to principle were recognized on all hands.

II

When the Canadian provinces were federated in 1867 the scattered settlements west of the Rocky Mountains were isolated from the east and even from Manitoba. To make a nation was the task of Sir John Macdonald and the Conservative Party which came into power in the year of federation and with a short interval retained office till 1896. Its policy was the fostering of industries by protection, the development of communications, and the strengthening of imperial ties. The Canadian Pacific Railway reached its goal in 1886 and the settlement of the west began; yet prosperity and population increased slowly, and thousands of Canadians settled in the United States every year. The Liberals advocated a lower tariff and closer commercial relations with the United States, and a few voices supported the demand of Goldwin Smith for union. Macdonald died in 1891, his party was weakened by financial scandals, and in 1896 the Liberals, led by Laurier, entered on fifteen years of office. They continued the system of protection and bounties, but in 1897 a preference of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, later increased to $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent, was given to British goods. This differentiation led Germany to except Canada from the most favoured nation treatment accorded by her to the British Empire. Canada retaliated in 1903 by a surtax on German goods and the tariff war continued till 1910.

With the opening of the present century her fortunes rapidly improved. The discovery of gold at Klondyke in 1899 caused a rush to the west. As the development of the Pacific slope proceeded Chinese and Japanese coolies flocked in, and the Federal Government was compelled to check them, the former by drastic

legislation, the latter by treaty. Western Canada now attracted an ever-increasing army of American settlers. It was discovered that wheat would grow farther north than had been supposed, and Canada took her place among the granaries of the world. The vast space between Manitoba and British Columbia was filled in 1905 by the creation of the new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. So great was the influx from Europe that the Government felt strong enough to raise its standard for immigrants. Amid this whirl of change the French province of Quebec continued its placid life, for the only grievance was connected with the schools. When Manitoba was made a province in 1870 it retained denominationalism, but substituted an unsectarian system in 1890. French Catholics appealed to the Privy Council in London, which declared that the Federal Government was entitled to intervene. In 1895 an attempt to override the province failed, and it was left to the Liberals to remove the grievance by protecting religious teaching in the Catholic schools.

The relations of Canada with her great neighbour were smoothed by the successive removal of differences. In 1886 a dispute arose in regard to seal fishing in the Behring Sea which after long negotiations was submitted to arbitration in 1892. The Tribunal supported the British contention that it was an open sea and drafted joint regulations. A second controversy related to the boundary of Alaska, the huge Arctic province sold by Russia to the United States in 1867. The matter was rendered important by the discovery of gold at Klondyke, and in 1903 the arbitrators decided broadly in favour of the American claim. A third and even more important dispute, relating to American fishing rights off Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, was referred to The Hague Tribunal in 1910 and settled in the main

in accordance with British claims. A bold project of reciprocity with the United States was rejected at the election of 1911, when Borden, the Conservative leader, replaced Laurier as Premier. His proposal to contribute three super-*Dreadnoughts*, at a cost of 7 millions, to the Imperial Navy was rejected by the Liberal majority in the Senate which desired the creation of a Canadian navy, manned, maintained, and controlled by the Dominion. Despite these differences, the loyalty of both parties to the mother country was never in doubt.

III

The close of the nineteenth century witnessed the rapid development of large portions of Latin America where citizens of pure white blood are few. The gigantic federal state of Mexico was guided since 1877 by Porfirio Diaz, under whose rule British and American capital flowed in and order was maintained. He was overthrown in 1911 by Madero, whose watchword was Mexico for the Mexicans, and who was in turn displaced and murdered by the partisans of Huerta. During 1913 civil war devastated the country, and the United States refused to recognize the new President. The five small Central American republics of Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, San Salvador, and Costa Rica made but little progress. Federation, though often discussed, is still far off, and war and insurrections frightened away foreign capital. A permanent Court of Justice was created in 1908 under the auspices of the United States and Mexico for the settlement of all disputes between the Central American republics. With the construction of the Canal the little state of Panama

became in fact though not in name an American protectorate.

The tropical states of South America—Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru—advanced equally slowly. Their history moved from one revolution to another as one ambitious general after another snatched the helm. Their population consisted almost wholly of natives, negroes, and *mestizos*, and the standard of public spirit was low. European settlers and European capital avoided these republics with their enervating climate and their feverish political life. Bolivia and Paraguay, inhabited almost wholly by native Indians, had no better record to show. The eastern and western states, on the other hand, with a far larger element of white blood, made considerable and in some cases rapid advance. During the long reign of Pedro II, of the House of Braganza, many reforms were introduced in Brazil and slavery was abolished in 1888. But an empire in a continent of republics appeared an anomaly, and in 1889 the Emperor, who was deposed by a bloodless military revolution, was shipped off to Lisbon. Rio grew into a great city, and the resources of the vast federal Republic, a country the size of Europe, began to be tapped, the state of San Paulo in the south owing its pre-eminence in wealth and influence to its solid block of German immigrants.

Far more striking was the career of Argentina, the second in size of South American states. After overcoming bankruptcy in 1889, which provoked the Baring crisis in London of 1890, she attracted a large European population, chiefly Italian; her railways were financed by British capital, and she soon became the greatest corn and meat exporting country in the world. Her comparatively temperate climate, rich plains, and easy water communications promised a future of boundless

prosperity, and Buenos Aires, with a population of a million and a quarter, was by far the largest city in South America. Her western neighbour, Chile, a mere strip on the Pacific coast two thousand miles long, grew rich on her nitrate deposits in the north despite grave internal troubles. The Presidency of Balmaceda, which began in 1886, witnessed a sincere attempt towards reform, but the Congress, which was less democratic, thwarted his efforts and in 1891 civil war broke out. The President was defeated and committed suicide. War with Argentina on boundary questions was avoided by submitting the dispute to King Edward VII for arbitration.

Though the human material was not of the best and financial corruption was endemic, Latin America struggled painfully forward towards a wider life, saved from the fate of Africa by the Monroe Doctrine. The joint demonstration of Great Britain, Germany, and Italy against defaulting Venezuela in 1903 was watched with intense suspicion by the United States, which vetoed even temporary occupation of territory; and the attack prompted Drago, the Foreign Minister of Argentina, to demand the prohibition of armed intervention for the collection of debts. The so-called Drago Doctrine was widely discussed, and at the second Hague Conference in 1909 it was agreed that force should not be employed till the claims had been approved by arbitration and payment refused by the debtor state. The Pan-American Congresses at Washington (1889), Mexico City (1901), and Rio (1906), and the establishment of the Bureau of American Republics at Washington, pointed to closer relations between North and South. But though Latin America sometimes felt grateful to her mighty neighbour for protection in time of need, she trembled lest that power should be abused,

and Roosevelt's high-handed treatment of Colombia sent a shudder through the southern hemisphere. The Monroe Doctrine is the most elastic as well as the most audacious of political formulas, and, like other assertions of power, it needs to be tactfully applied.

CHAPTER X

WORLD PROBLEMS

THE most striking feature of the years immediately preceding the War of 1914 was the shrinkage of the world. No country, no continent any longer lived an independent life. The curtains which hid the earth's secrets were raised one by one. Lhasa was invaded in 1904, Amundsen made the North-west Passage in 1905, the North Pole was reached by Peary in 1909, the South Pole by Amundsen in 1911 and Scott in 1912. As the globe contracted intelligent members of the human family grew conscious of its fundamental unity. Ideas and ideals, inventions and experiments—submarines, aeroplanes, motor cars, wireless, X-rays—made the tour of the world. International congresses of experts were held, and the Inter-Parliamentary Union, founded in 1888, met annually in a different country. The plays of Ibsen, Hauptmann and Bernard Shaw, the novels of Tolstoy and Dostoievsky, Hardy and Galsworthy, d'Annunzio and Anatole France, the music of Arthur Sullivan and Elgar, Debussy and Richard Strauss found admirers in every land. Civilization and culture had become international.

Of the world movements at the turn of the century the advance of democracy was the most significant. Parliaments in Japan, Persia, and Turkey, the demand for self-government in China, India, Egypt, and the Philippines, revealed the attraction of democratic ideas. The transfer of power from the few to the many, at any rate on paper, went steadily forward. The aggregation of great masses in cities weakened feudal and conservative influences and enabled the fourth estate to

organize its numerical strength. What Henry Wallace describes as the century of the common man had dawned. The right of the majority to give effect to its settled wishes was recognized, at least in theory, in most civilized states, and machinery was invented, such as the referendum and proportional representation, to discover the popular will.

More important than these mechanical devices for arriving at the will of the people was the concession of the franchise to women in Australia and New Zealand, Norway and Finland, the Isle of Man, and five of the United States (Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Washington). Nineteen women entered the Finnish Diet after the grant of universal suffrage, and one took her seat at Oslo in 1911. The old demand for a vote as the symbol of citizenship reached a new stage in England in 1905, when the Women's Social and Political Union, founded by Mrs. Pankhurst in 1903, adopted militant methods. Several private Bills received a second reading in the House of Commons, but both Liberals and Conservatives were too deeply divided to take up the question officially. On the other hand, women had voted in county council elections from the start, and in 1907 they became eligible for membership. The movement towards sex equality made rapid strides in other fields. Women doctors were at work, women lawyers practised at the French Bar, women ministers of religion were common in the United States. Nearly every university opened its doors to female students, though Oxford and Cambridge still refused them degrees. An International Council of Women was formed in 1888, and the first Congress met in London in 1889. No voice so powerful as that of Mill was raised on their behalf, but their ideals were expressed by such writers as Ellen Key, Charlotte Gilman, and Olive

Schreiner. The concession of equal civil and political rights was consistently supported by Labour in every country and had many supporters among older parties.

The most decisive sign of the advance of democracy was the rise of organized Labour Parties. The attainment of a democratic franchise strengthened the demand for greater equality in the economic sphere. In no great country did Socialism play such a conspicuous part as in Germany, where it won the allegiance of the majority of manual workers in the towns. In England a small but vigorous Labour Party emerged from the election of 1906. In France and Italy parliamentary Socialism became a force in the 'nineties. In Austria it arrived with universal suffrage in 1907. Its power in the first and second Dumas was one of the excuses for narrowing the franchise of the third. In 1885 a Labour Party was formed in Belgium among the Walloon miners and factory workers of the south, and nowhere was it so closely associated with the Co-operative movement. In Holland and the Scandinavian states it won a firm hold in the Chambers, and in the Finnish Diet elected in 1911 nearly half the members were Socialists. In Spain it increased its hold in the industrial seaboard towns. In Hungary the landless labourer found a champion in Count Michael Karolyi, at once a great hereditary landowner and a foe of large estates. Liebknecht, Bebel, and Bernstein in Germany, Viktor and Friedrich Adler in Austria, Turati and Ferri in Italy, Iglesias in Spain, Jaurès in France, Vandervelde in Belgium, Troelstra in Holland, Keir Hardie and Ramsay MacDonald, Arthur Henderson and Philip Snowden in England, spoke for a great volume of working-class opinion at the International Socialist Congresses held at intervals since 1889.

Though Marxism was the prevailing creed, it found

critics in many camps. Its theory of value was challenged, its economic forecast was declared to have been falsified, its distrust of legislation as a means of social betterment was cast aside. Many younger men in the German Labour movement turned to the 'Revisionism' of Bernstein, while the assumption of office by prominent French Socialists marked a further breach with the intransigents of the past. In England the empirical collectivism of the Fabian Society, under the skilful guidance of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, made steady progress. There were two exceptions to the general trend towards evolutionary doctrine and parliamentary action. The first was Syndicalism, which won considerable support in France and Italy after Georges Sorel published *The Socialist Future of Syndicates* in 1897. The Syndicalist desired to work through federated trade unions instead of political representation. Unions were to be purely fighting organizations, their chief weapon the strike, their object the forcible transformation of society. While Marx taught that the capitalist movement tended automatically to its own destruction, Sorel affirmed that the change required a determined effort of the proletariat. The second revolt against constitutional methods occurred in Russia, where Lenin, Trotsky, and other militant Marxists broke away from the so-called Mensheviks, founded the Bolshevik Party, and worked out a new technique of revolution and reconstruction from the safe anchorage of exile in Switzerland, England, and the United States.

Travelling beyond the boundaries of Europe we find little Socialism in the United States, where private enterprise was more strongly entrenched than in any other part of the world, and where the first Socialist entered Congress in 1911. In 1901 a small Socialist

Party was organized in Japan, where the rank abuses of the competitive system grew with the rapid industrialization. In New Zealand a period of advanced legislation, equally acceptable to all parties of the Left, was inaugurated by Seddon and Pember Reeves. In Australia a Labour Ministry held office for a few months without an independent majority in 1904; but in 1910 the elections gave Labour a substantial majority in both Houses and enabled the Fisher Ministry to levy a progressive land tax on undeveloped estates.

In addition to the efforts of the manual workers to improve their conditions of life by trade unionism, the Co-operative Movement, and Parliamentary representation, members of other classes busied themselves increasingly with social problems. Legislation aiming at a minimum standard of education and leisure, health and housing, gradually accumulated on the statute books of civilized countries. The Ghent system of insurance against unemployment inaugurated in 1901 spread over central and northern Europe. The Wages Boards set up in Victoria in 1896 were adopted by the mother country. Germany led the way with labour exchanges, labour colonies, State-aided provision against sickness and accident, old age and invalidity. In England Lloyd George followed up the grant of non-contributory Old Age Pensions by insurance against sickness and unemployment. Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree described the life and labour of the people in London and York respectively. University settlements, springing from the seed sown by Arnold Toynbee and ripened by Canon Barnett in Whitechapel, testified to a growing recognition of social responsibility. The Encyclicals of Leo XIII denounced the evils of competitive capitalism as vigorously as the Christian Social Union in England.

In an age of science, democracy, and industrialization, the power of tradition weakened in every field. The endeavour of Modernism to restate the Catholic position in the light of modern scholarship aroused wide interest but was denounced by Pius X. Loisy and Tyrrell felt the heavy hand of the saintly Pope, and even Fogazzaro, author of *The Saint*, was frowned on by the Vatican. The Syllabus '*Lamentabili*' and the Encyclical '*Pascendi*' slew the tender plant of Catholic Modernism. The attempt of liberal Catholics to prove the compatibility of their faith with democratic principles was also rebuked. The Sillonist movement of Marc Sangnier was suppressed in France, and the excommunication of Romolo Murri scotched Christian Democracy in Italy. This rigid conservatism attracted the type of mind which craves for authority, and there was a steady flow of converts to Rome from the Protestant Churches and the ranks of disillusioned sceptics. At the suggestion of Leo XIII, Thomas Aquinas was more diligently studied than at any time since the Middle Ages. For those to whom Christian dogma made little appeal there were other possibilities. The teachings of Mrs. Eddy spread rapidly throughout the United States and found a fainter welcome in the Old World. Philosophy spoke with many voices. Science grew more willing to accept idealist interpretations of the universe as the old Newtonian physics were modified by the discoveries of Planck, Einstein, and Rutherford.

Though the theological temperature was falling the old conflict between Christian and Jew was renewed with increased bitterness, but the anti-Semitism of the closing decades of the nineteenth century was the offspring of economic rather than racial or religious factors. The hunt began in Prussia in 1878 with the denunciations of Stöcker, a Court chaplain who traced the growing

materialism of society to Jewish financiers and journalists. He was supported by Treitschke, and, despite the opposition of Mommsen, Virchow, and other leaders of thought, the virus spread over Germany. When dismissed by William II Stöcker appeared in the Reichstag as the leader of a little group of anti-Semites. By this time Austria had outstripped her ally. The party of Christian Socialism obtained the enthusiastic support of the small traders of the towns, while its leader, Lueger, Burgomaster of Vienna, held the capital in the hollow of his hand till his death in 1910. In France the poisoned pen of Drumont prepared the way for the orgy of intolerance to which Dreyfus owed his torments.

It was in Eastern Europe, the abode of two-thirds of the Jews scattered over the world, that the storm raged most fiercely. In Russia violent mob attacks began in 1881 and were renewed in 1891. A decade later a third cycle of organized persecution opened with a hideous massacre at Kishineff, the capital of Bessarabia. Scarcely less terrible were the sufferings of Jews in Roumania. Among the conditions on which the new State was recognized by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 was the removal of religious disabilities; but the Bucharest Government made no attempt to fulfil its pledges and restrictions were multiplied to such an extent that life became almost intolerable. A great exodus began in 1900. Many fled to America, and in 1902 Secretary Hay invited the signatories of the Treaty of Berlin to discuss common action. As Great Britain alone responded collective pressure was impossible. The only result of the American protest was that Roumania prohibited emigration and that the last state of the victims was worse than the first. A shameless forgery entitled *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, purporting to be the minutes of twenty-four secret meetings to establish

Jewish world dominion, was published in 1904 and did its deadly work.

One answer to anti-Semitism was Zionism. In 1896 Herzl, a gifted Vienna journalist, outlined a plan of an autonomous republic under the Sultan of Turkey. The scheme was approved by Max Nordau, Zangwill, and other influential leaders, and the first Zionist Congress was held at Basel in 1897, but the difficulties of the project soon became apparent. Abdul Hamid was sympathetic, but failed to make a satisfactory offer; Russia was hostile, Germany unfriendly. Prosperous Jews of Western Europe preferred the comforts of civilization to the barren soil of Palestine. An offer by the British Government of an alternative refuge in East Africa in 1903 was refused after heated discussions. The death of Herzl in 1904 dealt a mortal blow at the movement, and the project of a settlement in Mesopotamia attracted little enthusiasm. Not till the close of the First World War was there a chance of a national home in Palestine.

The filling up of the world brought the white and coloured races into ever closer contact. Though slavery and the slave trade had been abolished by civilized States before the scramble for Africa began, old evils reappeared under new names. Since the effective exploitation of tropical and subtropical territories is beyond the capacity of white men, indentured labour was invented, and the 'White Man's Burden', to use Kipling's phrase, proved too often the dark man's doom. The murders and mutilations in the Congo Free State, the holocausts of Angola *servicaes*, the cruelties of the Chartered Company in Matabeleland and Peters in German East Africa, the wholesale destruction of human life in Yucatan and Putumayo, were part of the price that humanity had to pay for

commercial imperialism. Nor must we forget the moral indignities inflicted on educated Indians in the Transvaal under Dutch and British rule, the perpetuation of a colour bar in the Constitution of South Africa, and the undiminished insolence of many Americans toward the Negro.

Yet some progress toward the solution of the racial problem was made as the notion of trusteeship spread. Such bodies as the African Society, founded in memory of Mary Kingsley, revealed a new and sympathetic attitude, and the educational work of missionaries was beyond praise. The British Anti-slavery and Aborigines Protection Society continued their beneficent activities. Thanks to the crusade of Cardinal Lavigerie and the Brussels Conference of 1890 to which it led, the African slave trade was more closely watched. Steps were taken to save natives from the ravages of alcohol. An International Conference met at Shanghai in 1909 to concert measures against the use of opium. No one now doubts that not only the yellow but the brown and the black races are capable of progress. While Haiti and Liberia showed how little advance could be made without help, Jamaica and Basutoland, the Malay States and the Dutch East Indies revealed capacity for development under sympathetic guidance. The American Negro learned at Tuskegee to become a useful member of society; Booker Washington and Professor Dubois ranked among the intellectual assets of their country. Pure-blooded members of the dark races, such as Rizal, a Filipino scholar, novelist, and patriot, and Tengo Jebavu, a South African journalist, revealed the possibilities of advance. If the white man boasts of his superior intelligence, the coloured man possesses a formidable instrument in his overwhelming numbers. Both are needed for the manifold tasks of mankind.

Though the civilized world was growing increasingly conscious of its unity, armaments were still regarded as the only guarantee of national security. The acquisition of territory overseas tempted the European Powers to supplement their rivalry on land by rivalry at sea; Japan and the United States joined in the race, and impecunious South American republics squandered millions on battleships. As taxation and debt increased without a corresponding advance in relative strength the cry for relief grew more insistent, and it was with joyful surprise that the world learned in 1898 that the Tsar had invited the Powers to call a halt. His Rescript lamented the growing burden on the peoples and the diversion of effort from productive pursuits. The public was unaware of the origin of the proposal—namely, the fear of Russia's military authorities that Austria's new artillery was leaving her behind. When the delegates met at The Hague in 1899 it became clear that there was no chance of realizing the purpose for which the Conference had met. The spokesman of Germany announced that his country found her armaments no crushing burden and was opposed to their limitation. Though he was franker than his colleagues, none of the Great Powers was prepared to tie its hands.

When the rainbow vision faded away The Hague Conference fell back on arbitration. This sensible practice began at the end of the eighteenth century, and the nineteenth century witnessed over one hundred arbitrations between sovereign states. The Alabama award, arising out of an Anglo-American incident in the Civil War, did little to assist the cause owing to the unexpectedly heavy damages that England was called on to pay. Twenty years later the Behring Sea dispute was settled by arbitrators, two nominated by Great Britain and the United States, and three by the rulers

of countries not concerned in the dispute. It was obvious that a permanent Court would be highly convenient, and it was the merit of the First Hague Conference, at the suggestion of Lord Pauncefoot, the chief British delegate, to have created it. Of the controversies referred to The Hague Tribunal the most important related to the Newfoundland Fisheries. At the Second Hague Conference in 1907 the limitation of armaments was excluded from the agenda by Russia, the convener, and nothing was accomplished beyond the further definition of what might or might not be done in time of war. It was agreed to establish an International Prize Court and to draw up a recognized code, but the Declaration of London, issued in 1910, became a dead letter in 1914.

In addition to the growing willingness of states to refer specific disputes to arbitration, the practice of concluding general treaties became common. Many contracts were signed pledging the signatories to submit all questions except those touching vital interests or national honour, while Chile and Argentina referred all disputes without exception. The proposal of President Taft in 1910 to conclude an unconditional treaty with 'some Great Power' and Grey's warm welcome raised a flicker of hope in a darkening sky. His labours were continued by Bryan, Wilson's Secretary of State, who negotiated agreements with a number of countries on the eve of the First World War. It was the merit of Randal Cremer and Hodgson Pratt, of Baroness Suttner, Frédéric Passy and Andrew Carnegie, to have realized that peace needed its propaganda like other good causes. Norman Angell's best seller, *The Great Illusion*, popularized the contention worked out by Bloch, a Russian banker, in a massive treatise, that even a successful conflict between civilized communities

could no longer show a net profit. It was all in vain, for the fears and forces making for war were stronger than the hopes and the factors striving for peace. The vast majority of the 2,000 million inhabitants of our globe asked nothing more than the opportunity to earn their daily bread, to improve their lot, to enjoy their leisure in their own way. Yet while they toiled and played little groups of men behind the scenes were preparing for a titanic struggle of arms which few of them expected to avoid. Mankind had accomplished much, suffered much, learned much during the years surveyed in this volume. It required a world war, perhaps more than one, to teach the lesson that patriotism is not enough.

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